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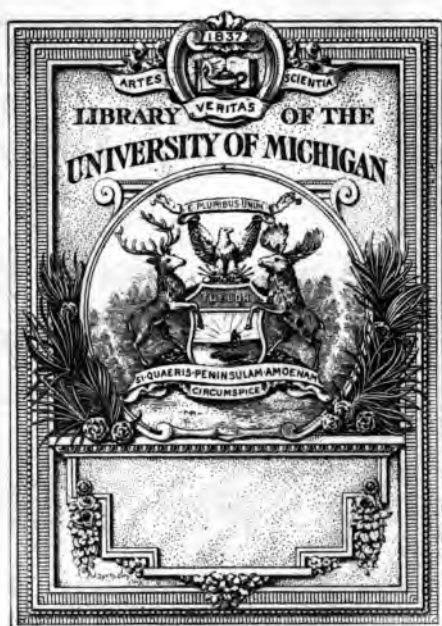
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THE  
AFRICAN REPOSITORY,

AND  
COLONIAL JOURNAL.

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VOL. IV.

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*Published by order of the Managers of*  
**THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.**

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THE PROFITS ARISING FROM THIS WORK, ARE DEVOTED TO THE  
CAUSE OF THE SOCIETY.

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Washington:  
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JAMES M. SMITH, PRINTER AND PUBLISHER; GEORGETOWN, D. C.



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**Review**

*Of Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee, with a Statistical account of that Kingdom, and Geographical Notices of other parts of the Interior of Africa.* By EDWARD BOWDICH, Esq., Conductor. London, 1819.

WHILE Christian nations have explored almost every region of the globe, Africa still offers to their enterprise an immense and interesting field for discovery. The efforts already made to ascertain the features and resources of this country, and the character of its population, have but very partially dispelled the mystery which has so long enveloped them. Sufficient information, however, has been obtained to excite an eager desire for more, and to create the belief, that people and objects of extreme curiosity and interest, are to be disclosed to the eyes of future adventurers into the interior.

We would not be understood as estimating lightly, the contributions which have been made to our knowledge of Africa, by those fearless and persevering travellers, who have during the last century crossed its deserts, penetrated its wildernesses, and sought to ascertain the sources, and trace out the windings of its noble rivers. They have accomplished much, and no one

can peruse their journals without thrilling emotion. Still a single glance at the map of this immense continent, will convince us, that only small portions of its territory have opened upon the view of these enterprising individuals; and that vast fields, of which we are in utter ignorance, remain to tempt the daring and inquiring spirit of this age.

The discoveries already made in Africa, are of a nature calculated to attract universal attention, and to excite an intense desire for the further prosecution of researches into its Geography, Natural History, the products of its soil, and the condition and habits of its population. It is in Africa, that we see nature, rude, eccentric, magnificent, romantic and sublime. In one place we behold the earliest and grandest monuments of civilization, in others her footstep is scarcely visible to the most accurate observer. *Here*, are deserts, which the swift-footed and long-enduring dromedary sometimes attempts to pass at his peril; *there* vales, rich in loveliness and beauty, as any which ever greeted the imagination of the child of genius and romance. In some parts, are to be found tribes gentle and amiable in their dispositions, with manners of artless simplicity, while in others the darkest and most odious features of barbarism frown away from their presence all the kindness and tenderness of humanity.

The establishment of civilized colonies on the African coast, will doubtless bring speedily to light, much very interesting information concerning Africa, with which we have hitherto been entirely unacquainted. What glorious effects may be anticipated from the growth and influence of these colonies! Prompted by the spirit of commercial enterprise, if by no better motive, the citizens of these colonies will maintain a friendly intercourse with the neighbouring tribes, through them become acquainted with those more remote, and finally open the way to the wonderful and well-nigh unexplored regions of Central Africa.—But benefits of higher interest to the philanthropic mind, than the mere acquisition of knowledge, may be expected from the plantation of these colonies—the introduction of a civilizing and Christian influence among the vast and uncounted population of the interior. “It has been, indeed, by the visits and exertions of ‘intelligent strangers,’ that many rude tribes have been rescued from barbarism, and elevated to importance and dignity

among the nations of the world.”\* “In the early traditions of Greece and Italy, some traces of such sources of civilization may be found, and a similar origin has been ascribed to the civilization which prevailed in some kingdoms of South America on their first discovery by the Spaniards.

If the natives of the old world had their Cadmus and Saturn, Peru had her Manco Capac, who instructed her once barbarous people in agriculture and the liberal arts, and whose accidental arrival from some unknown region probably gave rise to the fable of his descent from the Sun.”†

We formerly (Vol. i. p. 321.) expressed the opinion that Christianity once established in Africa, would make rapid progress, and gain signal triumphs over the vice and superstitions of the natives. The faith of the Africans generally, (if it can be properly termed faith,) is superficial and undefined, and cherished, rather because favourable to the indulgence of unhallowed passions, than from any conviction of its truth. The most powerful opposition is to be apprehended from the disciples of Mahomet; but among the negro tribes, their authority is partial, and exerted rather from motives of avarice than from sincere attachment to the honor of their prophet.

And did poetic imagination ever represent in its fairest visions, a brighter, a sublimer scene, than Africa must exhibit if regenerated by Christianity—Christianity introduced and propagated by her children once torn from her in chains, but now restored as freemen to give her the charter of all civil liberty, and to invest her sons with the priceless immunities of the heirs of God? Then will the fierce and intractable Arab of the desert, throw his Koran on the sand; and while with softened heart and features, he reads the messages of the Prince of Peace, feel his spirit glow with the hope of a pure Heaven, where the warrior's shout is unheard, and no garments are seen rolled in blood. The African despot, who like the King of Dahomey, now walks to his throne *in blood* and enters his palace on a pavement of *human skulls*, will lose his ferocity; nor will death! death! death! (ominous of human sacrifices) as echoed at midnight from the silver horns of the

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\* Sixth Report of the Society, page 15.

† First Report of the African Institution.





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**JAMES C. DUNN, PRINTER AND PUBLISHER; GEORGETOWN, D. C.**

were generally green, with black wings, and their nests hanging from the trees.

"I walked with Mr. Tedlie along a very neat path, well fenced and divided by *stiles*, to a corn plantation of at least twenty acres, and well cultivated. Payntree's farm house was situated here, and afforded superior conveniences; a fowl house, a pigeon house, and a large granary, raised on a strong stage. As we returned we paid him a visit, and were refreshed with some excellent palm wine; his dwelling was a square of four apartments, which were entered from an outer one, where a number of drums were kept; the angles were occupied by the slaves, and his own room, which had a small inner chamber, was decked with muskets, blunderbusses, cartouch belts fantastically ornamented, and various insignia. The order, cleanliness, and comfort surprised us; the sun had just set, and a cheerful fire on a clean hearth supported the evening meal. The old man was seated in his state chair, diverting himself with his children and younger wives; the elder one was looking on from the opposite apartment with happy indifference: it was the first scene of domestic comfort I had witnessed among the natives. There was a small plantation or garden neatly fenced in, near the house, for the supply of the family."

The following will give our readers an idea of the obstacles which sometimes obstructed their path:

"The doom and iron trees were frequent: the path was a labyrinth of the most capricious windings, the roots of the cotton tree obstructing it continually, and our progress was generally by stepping and jumping up and down, rather than walking; the stems or caudices of these trees projected from the trunks like flying buttresses, their height sometimes 20 feet. Immense trunks of fallen trees presented constant barriers to our progress, and increased our fatigues, from the labour of scaling them; we were also frequently obliged to wait the cutting away of the underwood before we could proceed, even on foot. The large trees were covered with parasites and convolvuli, and the climbing plants, like small cables, ascending the trunks to some height, abruptly shot downwards, crossed to the opposite trees, and threaded each other, in such a perplexity of twists and turnings, that it soon became impossible to trace them in the general entanglement."

After a toilsome march of several days, they beheld a scene of singular beauty, which is thus described:

"At the end of five miles and a quarter, the herbage to the right disclosed the cheerful reflections of the sun from the water; and we descended through a small vista of the forest, to the banks of Boosempira, or Chamah river. Nothing could be more beautiful than its scenery. The bank on

the south side was steep, and admitted but a narrow path; that on the north sloping; on which a small Fetish house, under the shade of a cachou tree, fixed the eye; whence it wandered over a rich variety of tint and foliage, in which light and shade were most happily blended; the small rocks stole through the herbage of the banks and now and then ruffled the water; the doom trees towering in the shrubbery, waved to the most gentle air a rich foliage of dark green, mocking the finest touch of the pencil; the tamarind and smaller mimosas, heightening its effect by their livelier tint and the more piquant delicacy of their leaf; the cotton trees overtopped the whole enwreathed in convolvuli, and several elegant little trees, unknown to me, rose in the back ground, intermixed with palms, and made the coup d'œil enchanting. The bright rays of the sun were sobered by the rich reflections of the water, and there was a mild beauty in the landscape, uncongenial to barbarism, which imposed the expectation of elegance and refinement. I attempted a sketch, but it was far beyond my rude pencil; the expression of the scene could only have been traced in the profile of every tree, and it seemed to defy any touches, but those of a Claude or a Wilson, to depict the life of its beauty."

In a few days they entered the kingdom of Ashantee. At the second village within its limits, they stopped awhile at the request of a "venerable old man, whose manners were very pleasing," and who refreshed them with wine and fruit. They were pained to learn that the "life of this old man was forfeited to some superstitious observances, and that he only waited the result of a petition to the King, that in consideration of his infirmities, he might be executed at his own Croom. He conversed cheerfully and congratulated himself on seeing white men before he died." His head was brought to Coomassie the day after their arrival.

On the 19th of May they arrived at Coomassie. Their approach was announced to the King, who desired them to rest at a little Croom until he had finished washing, when Captains would be deputed to conduct them to his presence. The pomp and ceremony displayed on this occasion were of a very striking and imposing character.

"We entered Coomassie at two o'clock, passing under a fetish or sacrifice of a dead sheep, wrapped up in red silk, and suspended between two lofty poles. Upwards of 5,000 people, the greater part warriors, met us with awful bursts of martial music, discordant only in its mixture; for horns, drums, rattles, and gong gongs, were all exerted with a zeal bordering on

frenzy, to subdue us by the first impression. The smoke which encircled us from the incessant discharges of musketry, confined our glimpses to the foreground; and we were halted whilst the captains performed their Pyrrhic dance, in the centre of a circle of warriors; where a confusion of flags, English, Dutch, and Danish, were waved and flourished in all directions; the bearers plunging and springing from side to side, with a passion of enthusiasm only equalled by the captains, who followed them, discharging their shining blunderbusses so close, that the flags now and then were in a blaze, and emerging from the smoke, with all the gesture and distortion of maniacs. Their followers kept up the firing around us in the rear. The dress of the captains was a war cap, with gilded rams horns projecting in front, the sides extended beyond all proportion by immense plumes of eagles feathers, and fastened under the chin with a band of cowries. Their vest was of red cloth, covered with fetishes and saphies\* in gold and silver; and embroidered cases of almost every colour, which flapped against their bodies as they moved, intermixed with small brass bells, the horns and tails of animals, shells and knives; long leopards tails hung down their backs, over a small bow covered with fetishes. They wore loose cotton trowsers, with immense boots of a dull red leather, coming half way up the thigh, and fastened by small chains to their cartouch or waist belt; these were also ornamented with bells, horses tails, strings of amulets, and innumerable shreds of leather; a small quiver of poisoned arrows hung from their right wrist, and they held a long iron chain between their teeth, with a scrap of Moorish writing affixed to the end of it. A small spear was in their left hands, covered with red cloth and silk tassels. Their black countenances heightened the effect of this attire, and completed a figure scarcely human.

This exhibition continued about half an hour, when we were allowed to proceed, encircled by the warriors, whose numbers, with the crowds of people, made our movement as gradual as if it had taken place in Cheapside; the several streets branching off to the right, presented long vistas crammed with people: and those on the left hand, being on a declivity, innumerable rows of heads rose one above another; the large open porches of the houses, like the fronts of stages in small theatres, were filled with the better sort of females and children, all impatient to behold white men for the first time; their exclamations were drowned in the firing and music, but their gestures were in character with the scene. When we reached the palace, about half a mile from the place where we entered, we were again halted, and an open file was made, through which the bearers were passed, to deposit the presents and baggage in the house assigned to us. Here we were gratified by observing several of the Caboceers pass by with their trains, the novel splendour of which astonished us. The bands principally composed of horns and flutes, trained to play in concert, seemed to soothe our hearing

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\* Scraps of Moorish writing, as charms against evil.

into its natural tone again by their wild melodies; whilst the immense umbrellas, made to sink and rise from the jerkings of the bearers, and the large fans waving around, refreshed us with small currents of air, under a burning sun, clouds of dust, and a density of atmosphere almost suffocating. We were then squeezed at the same funeral pace, up a long street to an open-fronted house, where we were desired by a royal messenger to wait a further invitation from the King. Here our attention was forced from the astonishment of the crowd to a most inhuman spectacle, which was paraded before us for some minutes; it was a man whom they were tormenting previous to sacrifice; his hands were pinioned behind him, a knife was passed through his cheeks, to which his lips were noosed like the figure of eight; one ear was cut off and carried before him, the other hung to his head by a small bit of skin; there were several gashes in his back, and a knife was thrust under each shoulder blade; he was led with a cord passed through his nose, by men disfigured with immense caps of shaggy black skins, and drums beat before him; the feeling this horrid barbarity excited must be imagined. We were soon released by permission to proceed to the King, and passed through a very broad street, about a quarter of a mile long, to the market place. Our observations en-passant had taught us to conceive a spectacle far exceeding our original expectations; but they had not prepared us for the extent and display of the scene which here burst upon us; an area of nearly a mile in circumference was here crowded with magnificence and novelty. The King, his tributaries and captains, were resplendent in the distance, surrounded by attendants of every description, fronted by a mass of warriors which seemed to make our approach impervious.—The sun was reflected with a glare scarcely more supportable than the heat from the massy gold ornaments, which glistened in every direction. More than a hundred bands burst at once on our arrival with the peculiar airs of their several chiefs; the horns flourished their defiance with the beating of innumerable drums and metal instruments, and then yielded for a while to the soft breathings of their long flutes, which were truly harmonious; and a pleasing instrument like the bagpipe without the drone was happily blended. At least a hundred large umbrellas or canopies, which could shelter thirty persons, were sprung up and down by the bearers with brilliant effect, being made of scarlet, yellow, and the most showy cloths and silks, and crowned on the top with crescents, pelicans, elephants, barrels, and arms and swords of gold; they were of various shapes but mostly dome, and the valances (in some of which small looking-glasses were inserted) fantastically scalloped and fringed; from the fronts of some, the proboscis and small teeth of elephants projected, and a few were roofed with leopard skins, and crowned with various animals naturally stuffed. The state hammocks, like long cradles, were raised in the rear, the poles on the heads of the bearers; the cushions and pillows were covered with crimson taffets, and the richest cloths hung over the sides. Innumerable small umbrellas,

of various coloured stripes, were crowded in the intervals, whilst several large trees heightened the scene, by contrasting the sober colouring of nature

"Discolor unde auri per ramos aura refulsit."

The King's messengers, with gold breast-plates, made way for us, and we commenced our round, preceded by the canes and the English flag. We stopped to take the hand of every Caboceer, which as their household suites occupied several spaces in advance, delayed us long enough to distinguish some of the ornaments in the general blaze of splendour and ostentation.

"The Caboceers, as did their superior captains and attendants, wore Ashantee cloths, of extravagant price, from the costly foreign silks which had been unravelled to weave them in all the varieties of colour as well as pattern; they were of an incredible size and weight, and thrown over the shoulder exactly like the Roman toga. A small silk fillet generally encircled their temples, and massy gold necklaces intricately wrought, suspended Moorish charms, dearly purchased, and enclosed in small square cases of gold, silver, and curious embroidery. Some wore necklaces reaching to the navel entirely of aggr'y beads; a band of gold and beads encircled the knee, from which several strings of the same depended; small circles of gold like guineas, rings, and casts of animals, were strung round their ancles; their sandals were of green, red, and delicate white leather; manillas, and rude lumps of rock gold, hung from their left wrists, which were so heavily laden as to be supported on the head of one of the handsomest boys. Gold and silver pipes and canes dazzled the eye in every direction.—Wolves' and rams' heads as large as life, cast in gold, were suspended from their gold-handled swords, which were held around them in great numbers; the blades were shaped like round bills and rusted in blood; the sheaths were of leopard skin, or the shell of a fish like shagreen. The large drums supported on the head of one man, and beaten by two others, were braced around with the thigh bones of their enemies, and ornamented with their skulls. The kettle drums, resting on the ground, were scraped with wet fingers, and covered with leopard skin. The wrists of the drummers were hung with bells and curiously shaped pieces of iron, which ginged loudly as they were beating. The smaller drums were suspended from the neck by scarfs of red cloth; the horns (the teeth of young elephants) were ornamented at the mouth piece with gold and the jaw bones of human victims. The war caps of eagles' feathers nodded in the rear, and large fans, of the wing feathers of the ostrich, played around the dignitaries; immediately behind their chairs, (which were of a black wood, almost covered by inlays of ivory and gold embossment) stood their handsomest youths with corslets of leopard skin, covered with gold cockle shells, and stuck full of small knives sheathed in gold and silver, and the handles of blue agate; cartouch boxes of elephant's hide hung below, ornamented in the same manner—a large gold-handled sword was fixed behind the left shoulder, and silk scarfs and

horses' tails (generally white) streamed from the arms and waist cloth.— Their long Danish muskets, had broad rims of gold, at small distances, and the stocks were ornamented with shells. Finely grown girls stood behind the chairs of some, with silver basins. Their stools (of the most laborious carved work, and generally with two large bells attached to them) were conspicuously placed on the heads of favourites; and crowds of small boys were seated around, flourishing elephants' tails curiously mounted. The warriors sat on the ground close to these; and so thickly as not to admit of our passing without treading on their feet, to which they were perfectly indifferent; their caps were of the skins of the pangolin and leopard, the tails hanging down behind; their cartouch belts (composed of small gourds, which hold the charges, and covered with leopard or pigs' skin,) were embossed with red shells, and small brass bells thickly hung to them; on their hips and shoulders was a cluster of knives: iron chains and collars dignified the most daring, who were prouder of them than of gold; their muskets had rests of leopard's skin, and the locks a covering of the same; the sides of their faces were curiously painted in long white streaks, and their arms also striped, having the appearance of armour.

"We were suddenly surprised by the sight of Moors, who afforded the first general diversity of dress; there were 17 superiors, arrayed in large cloaks of white satin, richly trimmed with spangled embroidery, their shirts and trowsers were of silk, and a very large turban of white muslin was studded with a border of different coloured stones; their attendants wore red caps and turbans, and long white shirts, which hung over their trowsers; those of the inferiors were of a dark blue cloth; they slowly raised their eyes from the ground as we passed, and with a most malignant scowl. The prolonged flourish of the horns, a deafening tumult of drums, and the fuller concert of the intervals, announced that we were approaching the King: we were already passing the principal officers of his household; the chamberlain, the gold horn blower, the captain of the messengers, the captain for royal executions, the captain of the market, the keeper of the royal burial ground, and the master of the bands, sat surrounded by a retinue and splendour, which bespoke the dignity and importance of their offices. The cook had a number of small services covered with leopard's skin held behind him, and a large quantity of massy silver plate was displayed before him, punch bowls, waiters, coffee pots, tankards, and a very large vessel with heavy handles and cloved feet, which seemed to have been made to hold incense; I observed a Portuguese inscription on one piece, and they seemed generally of that manufacture.

"The executioner, a man of immense size, wore a massy gold hatchet on his breast; and the execution stool was held before him clotted in blood, and partly covered with a cawl of fat. The king's four linguists were encircled with a splendour inferior to none, and their peculiar insignia, gold canes, were elevated in all directions, tied in bundles like fasces. The



keeper of the treasury, added to his own magnificence, by the ostentatious display of his service; the blow pan, boxes, scales and weights were of solid gold.

"A delay of some minutes whilst we severally approached to receive the King's hand, afforded us a thorough view of him: his deportment first excited my attention; native dignity in princes we are pleased to call barbarous, was a curious spectacle: His manners were majestic, yet courteous; and he did not allow his surprise to beguile him for a moment of the composure of the monarch; he appeared to be about thirty-eight years of age, inclined to corpulence, and of a benevolent countenance; a fillet of aggrary beads round his temples, a necklace of gold cockspur shells strung by the largest ends, and over his right shoulder a red silk cord, suspending three sapphies cased in gold; his bracelets were the richest mixtures of beads and gold, and his fingers covered with rings; his cloth was of a dark green silk; a pointed diadem was elegantly painted in white on his forehead; also a pattern resembling an epaulette on each shoulder, and an ornament like a full blown rose, one leaf rising above another until it covered his whole breast; his knee bands were of aggrary beads, and his ankle strings of gold ornaments of the most delicate workmanship, small drums, sankos, stools, swords, guns, and birds clustered together; his sandals of a soft white leather, were embossed across the instep band, with small gold and silver cases of sapphies; he was seated in a low chair, richly ornamented with gold; he wore a pair of gold castanets on his finger and thumb, which he clapt to enforce silence. The belts of the guards behind his chair were cased in gold and covered with small jaw bones of the same metal; the elephants' tails waving like a small cloud before him were spangled with gold, and large plumes of feathers were flourished amid them. His eunuch presided over these attendants, wearing only one piece of gold about his neck; the royal stool, entirely cased in gold was displayed under a splendid umbrella, with drums, sankos, horns and various musical instruments, cased in gold about the thickness of cartridge paper: large circles of gold hung by scarlet cloth from the swords of state, the sheaths as well as the handles of which were also cased; hatchets of the same were intermixed with them: the breast of the Ocras, and various attendants were adorned with large stars, stools, crescents and gossamer wings of solid gold.

"We pursued our course through this blazing circle, which afforded to the last a variety exceeding description and memory, so many splendid novelties diverting the fatigue, heat, and pressure we were labouring under; we were almost exhausted, however, by the time we reached the end; when instead of being conducted to our residence, we were desired to seat ourselves under a tree at some distance to receive the compliments of the whole in our turn.

"The swell of their bands gradually strengthened on our ears, the peals of the warlike instruments bursting upon the short, but sweet responses of the flutes: the gaudy canopies seemed to dance in the distant view, and floated

broadly as they were springing up and down in the foreground; flags and banners waved in the interval, and the chiefs were eminent in their crimson hammocks, amidst crowds of musketry. They dismounted as they arrived within thirty yards of us; their principal captains preceded them with the gold-handled swords, a body of soldiers followed with their arms reversed, then their bands and gold canes, pipes, and elephants' tails. The chief, with a small body guard, under his umbrella, was generally supported around the waist by the hands of his favourite slave, whilst captains holla'd close in his ear, his warlike deeds and (strong) names, which were reiterated with the voices of Stentors by those before and behind; the larger party of warriors brought up the rear. Old captains of secondary rank were carried on the shoulders of a strong slave; but a more interesting sight was presented in the minors, or young Caboceers, many not more than five or six years of age, who overweighed by ornaments, were carried in the same manner, (under their canopies,) encircled by all the pomp and parade of the predecessors. Amongst others, the grandson of Cheboo was pointed out, whom the king had generously placed on the stool of his perfidious enemy. A band of Fetish men, or priests, wheeled round and round as they passed, with surprising velocity. Manner was as various as ornament; some danced by with irresistible buffoonery, some with a gesture and carriage of defiance; one distinguished Caboceer performed the war dance before us for some minutes, with a large spear, which grazed us at every bound he made; but the greater number passed us with order and dignity, some slipping one sandal, some both, some turning after taking each of us by the hand; the attendants of others knelt before them, throwing dust upon their heads; and the Moors apparently, vouchsafed us a blessing.

"The King's messengers, who were posted near us, with their long hair hanging in twists like a thrum mop, used little ceremony in hurrying by the transient procession; yet it was nearly eight o'clock before the King approached.

"It was a beautiful star-light night, and the torches which preceded him displayed the splendour of his regalia with a chastened lustre, and made the human trophies of the soldiers more awfully imposing. The skulls of three Banda Caboceers, who had been his most obstinate enemies, adorned the largest drum; the vessels in which the boys dipped their torches were of gold. He stopped to inquire our names a second time, and to wish us good night; his address was mild and deliberate; he was followed by his aunts, sisters, and others of his family, with rows of fine gold chains around their necks. Numerous chiefs succeeded, and it was long before we were at liberty to retire. We agreed in estimating the number of warriors at thirty thousand."

*(To be continued.)*

## **Latest from Liberia.**

We now offer to our readers, Mr. Ashmun's communication by the Ontario, to which we alluded in the last number of our work.

CALDWELL, NOVEMBER 28, 1827.

GENTLEMEN:

My last advices from your Board are those received by the Norfolk—and my last despatches those sent by the same ship. She sailed from Montserado on the 26th of September—and except Dr. Todsén, then nearly recovered from a strong touch of the fever, all in good health.—The strength of the rains having abated, we, about that time, renewed the active operations of the present dry season, which are still carrying on, under the favour of Divine Providence, in a more satisfactory and effectual way than in any former year. The established state of the Colony—a treasure of past experience—the confirmed health of the settlers—our better knowledge of materials for every useful work—and a path trodden smooth by use, begin, now, as the fruit of perseverance in the unfavourable circumstances of former years, to requite in a fuller measure, the labour, and expense bestowed on the improvements of the Colony. Every month adds to it some new acquisitions, discloses some new resources—or produces some new valuable improvements.

The dry season is but just settled. Four new decked schooners have, however, been already built, fitted for sea, and actually gone abroad under the flag of the Colony. Three more of the same description, all new, will follow in a very few weeks—and these exclusive of three more decked vessels, and a variety of open coasting craft before in use. Most of these vessels have been wholly built at Monrovia, of country materials, except iron, copper, pitch and cordage.

We have the present year succeeded in introducing cows into the Colony from the interior. Formerly they were prohibited, and male cattle only suffered to be sent to market. It is but a few months ago, that the Colony had no others, except the produce of a cow brought from Sierra Leone in 1822. We have

now, in all, 14, and begin to get milk in considerable plenty.—Monrovia has a butchering establishment, which slaughters never less than two bullocks weekly—sometimes four, and even more, when beef is in demand. We have a path open, about 120 miles towards the Northeast; by which we receive as many bullocks, as we choose to order.

There is one team of small but good oxen in use; and several others are now breaking in—and will shortly be serviceable.—And we have at length succeeded in possessing ourselves of that invaluable animal, the *horse*. Francis Devany deserves the credit of introducing the first, a vigorous steed, a few weeks since. Several others, are now ordered. The path from the interior direct to the Colony, by which horses will hereafter be brought into it, is at present too difficult to allow them to pass. While on this subject, permit me to enumerate the different species of domestic animals and products, rearing, and which, we have reason to expect, will ever hereafter be had in the Colony, in the greatest plenty. If not—it is certainly not the fault either of climate, seasons, or soil—but must be wholly chargeable on the indolence of the settlers.

*Of Animals, &c.* We have (now) *Horses, Cattle in abundance, Sheep, Goats in abundance, fowls, ducks, geese, Guinea fowls, swine* in plenty.—*Fish*, are no where found in greater quantities. *Asses*, are lately introduced. *Fruits*, are, *Plantains, Bananas* (reges frugum) in endless abundance—*Limes, Lemons, Tamarinds, Oranges, Soursop, Cashew, Mangoe*—20 varieties of the *Prune—Guava, Papaw, Pine-apple, Grape*, tropical *Peach and Cherry*.

*Vegetables*, are, *Sweet Potatoe*, easily made, and the crop abundant—*Cassada*—the chief edible root of the country, grows almost without culture—*Yams*—not so easily made, but a better vegetable, beginning to be plenty—*Cocoa*—a root easily grown, and nearly equal to the Yam. *Ground-nuts*—sowed often in Rice-fields, very prolific—*Arrow Root*—easily made, nutritious, but best for sale—*Egg-plant*—grows, once planted, without culture, very prolific—*Oca*—every variety of *Beans*, and most sorts of *Pease—Cucumbers*—indigenous—*Pumpkins*—the several varieties succeed well.

*Grains*, are: *Rice*—the staple; several crops by way of expe-

riment the past season. It is a sure crop, but requires assiduous care. *Indian Corn*—does not succeed well—there is something unfriendly in either soil, or climate; supposed to be the too great heat of the latter. *Coffee*—of an excellent quality, and abundantly sufficient for the wants of the Colony. *Pepper*; of three varieties, of which either is equal to the Cayenne.—*Millet* and *Guinea Corn*—easily raised, but little cultivated.—Their place is supplied by the rice of the country.

Cotton is not yet cultivated, except on a small scale—staple good.

The food of labouring people in the Colony consists chiefly of the various preparations of Rice, Palm Oil, Beef, Coffee, Fowls, Goat's meat; Cassadas, Plantains, and Sweet Potatoes. Of all these articles, there are, and we trust will ever hereafter be had, the greatest abundance. But hitherto, yielding to the force of habit, formed in America, most of the colonists have, perhaps too liberally for their own interest, indulged themselves with flour, corn meal, butter, lard, pickled beef, fish and pork, and bacon,—a very large amount of all which is consumed every month—and I fear monthly becoming larger.

With the pardon of the Board, while on these minutæ, I will here add a sketch of the inside economy of this little community.

The older classes of settlers, fixed in comfortable dwellings, and surrounded with their little cultured premises, are variously and in general, successfully and actively employed in the coasting commerce, and the country trade; either through the factories, or at home. To this they add, as a source of profit, their transactions with trading vessels—and several of them, the exercise of their mechanical trades. Most of the mechanics of long standing, have from four to ten or twelve apprentices and journeymen working under them. To the same class is restricted, in the first instance, the benefit of nearly all the public money expended in the Colony—whether in the payment of salaries, job work, or building materials.—They are now beginning to add both to their comfort and their independence, by agriculture. Belonging to this class of settlers, is to be found, nearly all the trading capital, and much the greatest proportion of the whole wealth of the Colony. And it comprehends a large half of its entire population.

A second class (estimated at one-third of the population) have, after an exhausting effort, just placed themselves in their new—some, even not yet quite finished—houses; and are completing with great zeal and solicitude, the improvements on which the titles of their lands depend. Many, having large families to support while thus burdened with the severe labour of subduing a piece of forest land, and erecting houses, and very few bringing with them a spare dollar, feel the pressure of their circumstances, at this period, more sensibly than at any other perhaps in their lives. Earlier, they received a little weekly aid—(and a little, in an industrious and thrifty family, goes a long way,) from the public store. Later, they will have emerged into a state of comparative independence and ease—having houses over their heads, a title to their lands in their pocket, cleared and cultivated enclosures about them, and generally a healthier habit of body, from a longer residence in the climate. But at the stage I speak of, settlers are in want of all these comforts and helps—and obliged by their own incessant exertions, to create them all. Many of this class live, slenderly fed, slenderly clad, and not seldom, while the pressure lasts, indulge despondency;—and some of them even complain, that for ideal privileges, they have abandoned many substantial comforts, in America.—If mechanics, they spend nearly all their earnings in purchasing building materials—and in carpenters', masons', and labourers' hire, about their own houses. If simple farmers, or common labourers, it costs them two days' labour in every week for their more opulent neighbours, or the public, to get provisions for themselves and families—two days more, to pay for such building materials and clothing as they cannot make for themselves; and the remaining two days they spend on their buildings and lands. This is nearly the proportionate distribution of their industry, taking a month or season together. Some who have credit, go in debt at this stage of their residence in the Colony, and thus protract their embarrassments a couple of years longer. I do what I can to sustain their resolution in this emergency—encourage special industry, or merit struggling with too many difficulties at once, by a little seasonable relief—give them the refusal of certain little jobs, and contracts which promise to pay them best—and, to their credit be it said, few are found ungrate-

ful; and few but acquit themselves in this season, with much credit; and, as the reward of their perseverance, look forward, in a few months, to an easy and respectable establishment in the Colony.

The third class consists of settlers not a twelvemonth in the Colony. Most of these are yet in the Public Receptacles, and in rented houses. Imperfectly inured to the climate, they are incapable of severe labour—receive (for the early part of the period under consideration,) a little rice, tobacco, &c. from the public store, weekly—labour moderately, either on their own lots, and in preparing shingles &c. for their future houses—hire themselves, as journeymen, or labourers, to the older settlers—or employ themselves in preparing lumber, lime, stones, &c. &c. for sale.

To these may be joined a fourth class, not quite useless to the Colony—but altogether so to themselves. Men and women of too little forecast to see a month into the future, or care for any other part of their lives except the present hour. They lose their lands, because they never feel the necessity of taking measures to secure them, till it is too late. They never build houses, because a house can, *for the present month*, be *hired* much cheaper than they can build one. All the incurably lazy of the Colony, of course, muster in this class—but not a few, from a blind and constitutional improvidence, are referred to it, who labour hard the year round—but know not how to use their industry for their own benefit.

From this view of our interior economy, it results: (and the statement is made for the sake of the result)—

Firstly, That the Colony is sustained, and derives its growth, almost wholly from its own industry. True, there is a considerable amount of public money laid out, and which eventually stays in the Colony. But very few indeed receive even a part of their support, by a direct application of the public funds to their subsistence. And of these few, none, except too small a number of the sick to affect the account, receive, in that way, more than a small part of their subsistence. It is the labour of the colonists which sustains them—and which consequently sustains the Colony itself.—For the public supplies, instead of going to feed the people, after accomplishing this object, interme-

diately and as regards only a certain number, for a limited time, are made to end in permanent buildings and other public and durable improvements of the Colony.—So that it has the principle of its own growth within itself.

Secondly, The productive part of this industry, and that which directly administers to its growth, more than all others, is its *trade and commerce*. The expenditure of American funds here is subsidiary—and so is our gardening and agriculture.—But, these are *only* subsidiary to the trade of the Colony, as regards the share they contribute towards its prosperity. True, our rivers produce lime-shells—our hills building stones—our forests all the varieties of lumber, and other materials for building, for domestic furniture, and for naval uses:—and a very large proportion of the industry of the people is employed in preparing, transporting, and working up these materials. But what feeds and clothes them while thus employed?—What pays for these materials when brought into market?—or settles the joiners', cabinet makers', masons', plasterers' bills, when they are finally worked up? To all these inquiries, I answer, *the trade and commerce of the Colony*: and not, as I gladly would say, its agriculture. But,

Thirdly, So long as all the profits of trade remain in, and are laid out in permanently improving the Colony, the effect is nearly the same, on its general prosperity, as if the same improvements were effected by the surplus produce of agriculture. As many houses are built, as many roads opened, as many forts constructed, as many schools supported, on the one supposition as the other. But there is this difference. Every surplus bushel of rice, &c. made in the Colony, not only feeds as many people as the same quantity introduced by trade; but that bushel of rice proves the Colony capable, of itself, to produce another, and another bushel in its place, annually, so long as the world stands—which the bushel introduced by trade does not.—Found the Colony's independence, on its agriculture, and it stands on the surest of all grounds—on commerce, and it is precarious; liable to be affected by a thousand circumstances over which the Colony itself can exercise no control.

The truth compels me to say, that the sources of trade and commerce naturally belonging to the Colony, placed as it is on



the central part of a coast of vast extent—and bordering on populous and industrious nations in the interior of the continent, are not a tenth part explored:—and until they shall be both explored and occupied,—and so long as this vast field of commercial enterprise holds out new inducements to the settlers, to enter upon and cultivate it; is agriculture destined to follow in the train of trade—and not to lead it. Then, and not till then, is it likely that the tide of industry will shift its direction, and be made to set very strongly towards any other object. In the meantime it has been my invariable practice to hold out all possible encouragements, to the enterprise and perseverance of the farmers. The premiums authorized to be proposed for this end, by the Board of Managers, the last year, have to a certain extent, been beneficial. The survey on which the first annual award of these premiums is to be made, is now accomplishing.—But, as it was made a condition of carrying the several premiums, that the competitors should not only excel *others*, in the several crops, &c. but should *deserve* them, for the absolute value of those crops, and by the style of their work, as well as its relative quantity, I am apprehensive that not more than \$50, out of the \$200, will be, this year, awarded at all. But the competition has proved useful, and promises much better effects the ensuing year. All the practical farmers of Caldwell, (and most of the *inhabitants* are of this number,) are associated into an Agricultural Society. They meet weekly for the purpose of reporting, individually, the progress they have made in the week, on their plantations. These reports are recorded. Two, three or more questions, *of the most practical* nature, are then brought forward, every one is permitted to deliver his opinion; and state the reasons on which his opinion is founded. The question is then decided by a vote of the meeting; and if *unanimously* determined, is recorded as a *maxim* in the practical agriculture of the settlement, established for the present and future direction of all. The members are pledged to reduce to practice the axioms established in these meetings. I attend them myself—and can so far, bear a very decided testimony in favour of their great utility. The expedient will be attempted at the Cape: but promises less there than in Caldwell. Many, however, of that settlement are actively employed on their farms, this season: and

there remains not a doubt, that the products of the Colony, the ensuing year, will equal its consumption, in every article except rice. I have led the way in a farm of eight acres—which, considering the richness of the soil—the perennial growth of every plant and crop—and the most prolific nature of vegetation, in this country, is no contemptible piece of tillage. The articles cultivated on this land, are Cassada, Potatoes, Plantains, Bananas, Yams, several species of Pulse, a little Rice and Sugar-cane by way of experiment, Eggplants, Pepper, Coffee plants, Cotton, and a variety of fruit trees.

A concurrence of circumstances has given us, this season, the entire trade of Cape Mount. Two English vessels attempting to trade there, were not long since, totally lost. The difficult nature of the trade to strangers, deters some others. The contiguity of the Gallinas, which is still the occasional resort of piratical slavers, excludes a few more. And, to close the door still more effectually, the commercial regulations of the Colony prohibit the trade of Cape Mount to all foreign vessels trading to Cape Montserado. The same prohibition is extended to the whole line of coast between Cape Mount and Young Sesters, both inclusive—all of which is, constructively, within the occupation of the Colony.

The direct intercourse of the Colony with the interior is greatly improved and extended this season. Three individuals, *Frederick James*, *Reuben Dongey*, and *David Logan*, have, at great labour, and some personal hazard, been chiefly instrumental in procuring the advantages of this extension of our trade in that direction. We are now in treaty with King Boatswain to open an easy trade route to the distance of 150 miles. Beyond, the roads are good, and the communication free for traders, for aught we know, to Tombuctoo. This path already brings us nearly all our bullocks, and no inconsiderable amount of Ivory. And nearly all the Ivory received by this channel, is large and very valuable. James and Dongey are now in the interior—the former engaged in exploring the St. Paul's river from this place upwards of 200 miles, towards its source. There is reason to hope that its channel is not obstructed, in that whole distance, by more than two rapids. And only one of these is believed to amount to a complete obstruction of the boat navigation.

No change has occurred in the state of our establishments on the *Junk*, and on Factory Island, since my last letters. We have derived from them, a large quantity of rice and oil. Of the former article, there is now on hand 20 tons, or about 800 bushels; and we may safely depend on collecting a much greater amount of country produce this season, than in any former year. The many advantages even of a simple factory at Grand Bassa, (*Factory Island*) sufficiently indicate the usefulness of a snug little colony established at the same place. The chiefs of that country continue as solicitous as ever for such a settlement.—The want of settlers is the only obstacle—which we are eagerly expecting to see removed by the next arrival of colonist from the United States.

The Colony remains, still, on bad terms with Little Bassa. That place continues to be a depôt for slaving—two vessels having carried off slaves since September. It, indeed, furnishes our traders with large quantities of our best camwood—but refuses to punish the banditti who have perpetrated various acts of violence and pillage, on persons and property claiming the protection of the Colony. We have repeatedly proved the use of a forbearing policy—one effect of which is, to secure the suffrage of the judgment and moral sense of all the neighbouring tribes, in our favour. But, forbearance has its limits, beyond which it cannot be carried without pusillanimity, and an abandonment of the persons and property confided to, and confiding in, the protection of the Colony, to lawless violence and savage rapacity. And our forbearance, as regards this unprincipled tribe, certainly approximates very closely to those limits. May Heaven avert the necessity of bloodshed! But our little armed force is fitting for sea—and if the Board of Managers intend that arms shall not be used—and the calamity of war be forever and entirely avoided by their Colony; I see not but their present agent must be recalled, and a much *wiser* (I will not say more pacific) substituted in his place. Tom Bassa not only harbours, but protects, and shares the pillage of some sixty or eighty bandits, natives of Grand Battou and the other leeward parts of the coast, known by the name of Fishmen. These have, with arms, assaulted in three or four several instances, our own citizens, and country carriers, charged with the public property, and passing to and

from the leeward factories. They have wounded and maimed several men with fire-arms and cutlasses, and robbed them of \$1200 worth of property, belonging either to individual colonists, or to the public store. Tom has permitted the leader to withdraw with his booty—refuses to punish the rest—and neglects to restore more than a trifling part of the property: and all this in violation of solemn written engagements. Three different delegations have been sent from Montserado—without obtaining the least satisfaction. And what, I would respectfully inquire, now remains, except the “ultima ratio regum”?

We have been in the possession of Young Sesters since my last:—the war still prevailing, has rendered the situation of the factor and other occupants, resident in that country, less secure than could be wished. The site of the factory, on one occasion, having become the theatre of hostilities, they were obliged to remove the property to a place of greater safety. An old and slight building, the property of the Colony, was soon after destroyed, with about \$60 worth of private property. The King has engaged to make good this small loss, to the satisfaction of the owners. And a substantial frame house has since been erected. King Freeman is importunate for a small colony from Montserado to be established in his territories. All the chiefs of the neighbourhood, Toddetown excepted, concur with him in his solicitations for the same object. Such special grants of lands are now executing with those chiefs, as shall authorize the making of subordinate grants to colonists, on sure grounds; and a company of six or eight settlers is now raising, for the purpose of permanently and effectually settling that country. These, together with about fourteen labourers under them, and accompanied at first with a force of 10 or 12 recaptured Africans, may be expected to remove to that territory early in January; and commence the building of a small town and fortification, and the making of farms. The lands along the banks of Poor river, are of the very best quality—and having been in the cultivation of the natives, are easily cleared and subdued.

Our inducements for colonizing this territory, are,

1st. To establish and extend in the most effectual method, the influence of the Colony over not only the Sesters, but all the leeward tribes—especially such as will be thus placed between that settlement and Montserado.

2d. To assure the safety of all the intermediate establishments of the Colony—as well as of the Sesters itself. Some method of protection must be adopted for the security of our two establishments at Grand Bassa, and our third at the Junk. But, shall we fortify, and support a guard at each of these factories, as well as at the Sesters? If such an expense were possible, it would be most absurd and unnecessary. Fortify the out-post—strengthen the frontier; and there will be little use of fortifications at each of the several posts within those limits. But the absolute expense to the Colony, of guarding a factory, and maintaining a military post at Sesters, is not less than that which would be sufficient to colonize it. For the colonists, while they support themselves, and carry on their farms and buildings, are, for all general purposes, the best possible defence. A whole territory in our occupation there, will extend our influence much more effectually than a simple fort—a town will form a much more formidable barrier, than a factory—and a little community of inhabitants, than a very numerous guard. Settle the Sesters, and we may securely settle any part of the territory within.—For example, What insecurity can colonists on Factory Island feel, so long as they have a protecting settlement 25 miles beyond them? Among the candidates for this little sub-colony, not a man is enrolled, who has not been, at least, three or four years in Africa, and who is not personally acquainted with hundreds of the people among whom they are going—and entirely devoid of that suspicious timidity, which *invites* the aggressions of the country people, by seeming to *fear* and *distrust* them.—But, as their enterprise is one of great self-denial, and not a little arduous, I have thought it but just to hold out to adventurers extraordinary inducements. The first 12 families are, therefore, to be permitted to hold lands in the Sesters, without regard to lands previously held by them in any of the other settlements of the Colony. They are, further, to have the selection of these lands in an order to be fixed by lot. And their charter secures to the settlement a monopoly of its own trade for five years—(the public purchasers of rice and oil always excepted.) It is proposed to build a town on a height at no great distance from the sea on the one hand, and a few hundred yards from the river, on the other. A considerable chief of Tobocanee has just offered

the Colony, all the beach from G. Bassa to the village of Tapo-canee. The remaining portion between that village and Poor river, it is thought, may be had for a reasonable consideration. This territory abounds in Coffee—but the lands, near the Sea, are generally poor and lean, and the beach affords no commodious landing place—so, that, I have not definitively replied to the offer made us by its owners. The matter will be, however, kept alive till I make a visit to that part of the coast, which I propose to do about Christmas.

*(To be continued.)*



### “A Voice from Africa.”

A duodecimo pamphlet of thirty-four pages, with this title, has been transmitted to us, by a highly esteemed friend in Baltimore, who has likewise favoured us with the following account of its origin and object.

“The idea occurred to some benevolent friends of African Colonization in this place, that great benefit to the cause would ultimately proceed from instructing children in the principles of the great scheme in which we are all engaged. Many years must elapse before the emigration from this country can be as great as we wish it, both on account of the paucity of our means to send emigrants, and the want of accommodations in Africa for more than a very limited number. This time it was thought could not be better employed than in spreading among the coloured people an earnest desire to emigrate, whenever circumstances would permit: and this could not be better effected than by commencing with children, teaching these to consider Africa as their natural home, making them acquainted with its history and productions, and convincing them that it is there alone they can ever hope to attain the full enjoyment of the rights of free and independent men. With this view, I undertook, at the request of Moris Sheppard, a member of the Society of Friends, to compose an easy history of your Colony and of the Society—which the youngest child might spell,—as an introduction to the Address of the Citizens of Liberia. To this I added a hymn and prayer, written with the best of my skill, for children to commit to memory. A Glossary of the hard words closes the book—the titlepage tells the rest. Mr. Sheppard has caused 3000 of these primers, if they can be so called, to be printed at his own expense, in the style of that which I send you; and he has placed them with me for

distribution. He intends that this shall be the first of a series of "minor publications" for the use of African schools; and he has ordered an engraving of General Harper's head for the next. I feel satisfied that the Board will acknowledge this distinguished liberality on the part of a private individual. The "*Voice from Africa*" will exert an influence beyond the precincts of the school room.—Parents will derive information from their children; and the views of the Society, and the history and productions of Africa, will be widely and advantageously disseminated. It is proposed to offer a premium in each African school to the youth who shall commit the Address to memory. All will no doubt attempt, and very many will succeed. Depend upon it, my dear Sir, African emigration will yet become so popular among the blacks, that they will themselves in many cases furnish their own passage money to Liberia."

We wish all possible success to this very judicious method of instructing the Free People of colour in the design of our Institution, and the benefits to be realized from its execution. When well-informed on these subjects, it will be impossible for them to remain indifferent spectators of our proceedings; they will be excited to action, and thousands will lay aside the gains of their more productive industry, that they may be able to remove to Liberia. The expense of transportation, will probably be reduced by the increase of commercial intercourse with the Colony, although it is not now beyond the means of any healthy, single young man of colour, who can command the profits of his labours. We hope that all such will consider the prize which a kind Providence now holds out to their enterprise, and resolve that neither idleness, inconsideration, nor improvidence, shall prevent their obtaining it.

As pleasing specimens of the little work before us, and to show how well it is adapted to the use of the African schools in the United States, we here insert the Hymn and Prayer, which succeed the Address of the Colonists to their brethren in America.

Land of our fathers, Af-ri-ca,  
 We turn our thoughts to thee—  
 To gain thy shores we'll gladly bear  
 The storm upon the sea.

For He, who on the firm-set land  
 Can wield His power to save,  
 Will watch above the pilgrim band  
 And guard it on the wave.

Land of our sires, thy spreading palm  
 'Above us yet shall wave,  
 And on thy shore the sacred psalm  
 Shall tell Who came to save.

We left thee drowned in Pagan night,  
 A Saviour's name unknown;  
 We'll bring thee back the heav-en-ly light,  
 Which is the Christian's own.

We'll live, where flow the rivers by,  
 Which were our fathers' pride,—  
 And die beneath the same blue sky,  
 'Neath which our fathers died.

Then welcome day, and welcome hour,  
 When on the sea we roam,—  
 Our guide, the God whose word is power,  
 To gain our fathers' home.

#### PRAYER.

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, whose all-seeing eye is over the plains of Africa, as well as over the cities of America, we give thee our humble and hearty thanks, that thou hast protected, on the great sea, and at last established in the land of their forefathers, the free citizens of Liberia. We bless thee, that thou hast preserved them in health and safety through all the toils and perils of strangers in a strange land, until "the wilderness around them has blossomed as the rose." And most especially, Oh, most merciful Father, do we bless and magnify thy holy name, that thou hast vouchsafed thy spirit to the people of Liberia, and that thy Everlasting Gospel is made their animating spring of action, their daily rule of life, and their source of immortal hope and ineffable enjoyment. We humbly beseech thee so to continue thy gracious protection, that the Colony now established, may increase in temporal as well as spiritual happiness, until a mighty nation, peopled by pilgrims returning to their fathers' homes, shall arise, from which the light of thy truth shall beam upon Pagan Africa; and Ethiopia, lifting up her hands unto God, shall embrace the hope of everlasting life held forth to all through the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*



### Missions to Africa.

We have received, through the kindness of its Secretary, the first of a series of Quarterly Papers, to be published by the *Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, of the Protestant Epis-*



*episcopal Church in the United States.* The number before us relates almost entirely to the subject of missions in Africa; for which, we have already stated, a missionary has been selected by this Society (the Rev. Jacob Oson), who will shortly embark for Liberia. This paper contains part of a speech by the Rev. J. Raban, one of the English Missionaries at Sierra Leone, delivered at the Anniversary Meeting of the Church Missionary Society in 1827, from which we make the following extracts:

“It is well known, that our efforts in Sierra Leone, have been particularly, though not exclusively, directed to the instruction and improvement of the liberated Africans. Our congregations during the past year, in the different villages connected with the Society, have amounted on the average, to 3,000 persons on Sundays, and about half as many on the week days. The attention and seriousness manifested by all were truly gratifying. I heard many of them join in the forms of our excellent liturgy, and sing the praises of God; and I saw many attend to the word of life, with an anxiety, which proved that they were desirous of profiting by what they heard.

“The number of our scholars, in the last year, was about 1900; the greater part of whom, were children liberated from slave vessels. Of their behaviour, I am justified in saying, that on the whole, I consider it equally good with children of the lower class in this country. Respecting their progress, it cannot be expected to be rapid, when it is considered that all that is imparted to most of them, is by the medium of a foreign language; and that those who were born in the Colony, can have scarcely any assistance from their parents, they themselves being almost equally strangers to English.

“Of our native teachers and assistants, several give us very great pleasure; and we ardently hope that it may please God, to raise up many more, both children and adults, who shall take a part in assisting to convey to their own countrymen the glad tidings of salvation.

“With respect to our communicants, we have, including Free Town, four hundred and thirty. A greater number occasionally attend, but I speak now of the average attendance.

“I have had much pleasure in baptizing the children of the liberated Africans; the attention which the parents have shown on these occasions has been very gratifying, and I have reason to believe that they have been desirous to bring them up in the fear and knowledge of God.”

While on this subject, we are happy to mention the very successful efforts of the Rev. Lott Carey to preach the Gospel to the natives in the vicinity of our Colony, and to instruct their children in the knowledge of the Scriptures. We observe by

his letter to a Christian Brother in Richmond, dated Monrovia, Dec. 20, 1827, that a school has been established, through his agency, near Grand Cape Mount, and that the chiefs of the country have unanimously resolved to encourage and protect it. The following extract will show, what a desire for knowledge exists among the natives.

“The heathen in our vicinity are so very anxious for the means of light that they will buy it—beg it—and, sooner than miss of it, they will steal it. To establish this, I will mention a circumstance which actually took place in removing our school establishment up to C. M. I had upwards of forty natives to carry our baggage, and they carried something like 250 bars, a part of them went on four days before hand, and had every opportunity to commit depredations; but of all the goods that were sent and carried there, nothing was lost except fifteen Spelling Books, five of them we recovered again. I must say that I was almost pleased to find them stealing books, as they know that you have such a number of them in America, and that they can, and no doubt will, be supplied upon better terms.”



### **To our Friends.**

It will be recollected, we trust, that the operations of the Board of Managers the present year must depend, as to their extent and importance, almost entirely upon the funds which may be contributed within three or four months from the present time. The expeditions which may be fitted out should leave our shores early in the autumnal months—certainly, the departure of none of them should be deferred until winter. Much time must necessarily be consumed in the outfits; hence the importance of enabling the Managers speedily to decide upon the amount of funds with which they are probably to be favoured for the prosecution of their enterprise the ensuing year. May we be pardoned, for expressing the hope, that the Managers of Auxiliary Societies will seriously consider this subject, and inform us as early as convenient of the sums which the several associations they represent, may probably be enabled to contribute, and of the time when their remittances may be expected. Another subject which we regard as immensely important, and to which we earnestly solicit the attention of all who wish success to our Institution, is that of securing the consent of the Churches of all

denominations throughout the Union, *to take up Collections for the Society, on or about the Fourth of July next.* The very limited adoption of this measure, produced, the last year, a valuable income to the Society, and its general adoption could not fail to secure a revenue greatly exceeding the amount which has been received by our Treasurer during any single year. *Let every Friend to our scheme feel it a solemn duty to promote this object, and it may be accomplished. Let every Minister of Christ reflect upon it, and it will be effected in a manner honourable to our country, and cheering to Africa.*



### The Generous Scheme promoted.

It may be well to state, (as some of our readers may not have perused our last volume) that Gerrit Smith, Esq. of Peterboro, N. Y. has offered to give one thousand dollars to our Society, payable, one hundred annually, for ten years, provided that ninety-nine others can be found who will subscribe in the same manner. We published in our last number, a letter from a gentleman in Charleston, S. C. expressing his wish to be considered one of the number. Two other individuals, whose names we are not now at liberty to mention, have resolved to join in this great work of charity. We cannot, however, withhold the following letter, the spirit of which we pray may pervade many minds.

NEWARK, MARCH 15, 1828.

REV. AND DEAR SIR:

I duly received your communication on the subject of Mr. Gerrit Smith's proposition of raising funds for the Colonization Society. I ardently hope, that it may be cherished by at least a hundred friends.

With our disappointed expectations in New Jersey, in the cause of African Education, you are acquainted—these and other difficulties have led me fully into Mr. Smith's conclusion, "that the only present channel for our labours in behalf of Africa and her unhappy children on our shores, is that which the American Colonization Society opens up."

You will please, therefore, receive this as my stipulation to become one of the hundred subscribers to pay one hundred dollars each for ten years, payments to be made on the 1st of July of each year. And may He, who has the hearts of all men in

his hands, bring to this blessed enterprise the patronage, it so much needs and deserves.

With great regard, Yours truly,

THEO. FRELINGHUYSEN.

Rev. R. R. GURLEY.



### **Death of Dr. William Thornton.**

With heartfelt sorrow we record the death of Dr. WILLIAM THORNTON of this city, a devoted friend of our Society, and from its origin a highly valued member of the Board of Managers. Gifted with rare genius and endowed with most amiable and philanthropic dispositions, he engaged with deep interest and untiring zeal in the cause of African improvement, and indeed, in every scheme which he considered favourable to human liberty and happiness. The project of African Colonization, first suggested by Doctor Fothergill, (who is styled by Brissot "the great Apostle of Philanthropy,") and partially executed by Granville Sharp, excited the benevolent enthusiasm of Doctor Thornton while quite a young man, and he generously proposed himself to become the conductor of American Negroes to the country of their ancestors.— Though unable to secure funds adequate to the execution of this purpose, he still cherished the hope that a plan so patriotic and beneficent would ultimately be adopted by the American people, and rejoiced in the establishment of the American Colonization Society, as an evidence that this hope was not to be disappointed.

Punctual and faithful in his attendance on the deliberations of the Board, liberal towards the sentiments of others, while expressing with candour and firmness his own opinions, with a spirit that would quickly glow with indignation at deeds of inhumanity or baseness, or yield prompt and joyous praise to generous and noble actions, his occasional peculiarities of thought sprung from ardent enthusiasm in the cause of man, an enthusiasm not easily satisfied with the present progress of improvement, but high-wrought with the anticipations of a better age.— The grief of the Board on the occasion of the decease of this lamented individual, is expressed in the following Resolutions:—

OFFICE OF THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY, WASHINGTON, MARCH 29, 1828.

At a meeting of the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, called for the purpose of paying an honourable and merited tribute of respect to the memory of Dr. WILLIAM THORNTON, late one of its zealous and much esteemed members, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

This Board having heard with very deep regret of the death of Dr. William Thornton, one of its earliest and most highly valued members, and whose loss must be severely felt by the friends of Africa and mankind;

*Therefore, Resolved*, That, as a tribute of respect to the memory of the deceased, the members of this Board will attend his funeral, and that they will wear crape on the left arm for thirty days.

*Resolved*, That the above preamble and resolution be transmitted to the family of the deceased, and published in the National Intelligencer of this City.



## Contributions

To the American Colonization Society, from 1st March to 1st April, 1828.

An association of Ladies of the two Presbyterian Churches, Richmond, Va., to constitute Rev. Jonas King a life member, . . . .	\$30
Literary Society, Romney, Va., per Wm. C. Woodrow, Esq. Sec.	26
Collections per Mr. Tappan of Boston, as follows:	
From North Yarmouth and Cumberland—4th July last, . . .	18 36
Harvey Sessions, Newport, for Repository for 1827, . . .	2
From Westhampton, Mass.—4th July, . . . . .	13 08
From Southampton, Mass.—4th July, . . . . .	8 58
From South Hadley, Mass., 1st Parish, . . . . .	12
From East Hampton, . . . . .	7 58
From a Lady in Greensborough, Vermont, . . . . .	1
From Hendley, Mass.—4th July, . . . . .	17 03
From individuals in Ashfield, Mass. . . . .	2 68
From Executors of the late Aaron Woodman, of Boston, . . .	250
“Female Society in Dedham, for educating children in Africa,” to constitute Rev. Mr. Searle a life member, . . .	30
	362 31
Jasper Corning, Esq., of Charleston, S. C.—his first payment under the proposition to contribute the same sum annually for ten years, on condition that 100 persons can be found to do the same, . . .	100
Thos. P. Wilson, Esq., of Rockville, Md. . . . .	10
Collections by Rev. B. O. Peirs, as follows:	
In Doct. Herron’s Church, Pittsburg, . . . . .	22 55
Auxiliary Society, Pittsburg, . . . . .	42
Do. Maysville, . . . . .	60
Rev. Mr. Todd’s Church, Flemingsburg, . . . . .	15
— Mr. Smith’s Church, Frankfort, . . . . .	4
Mr. Coxe, of Maysville, . . . . .	5
Repository, . . . . .	4
	152 55
	<u>\$680 86</u>

THE  
**AFRICAN REPOSITORY,**  
AND  
**COLONIAL JOURNAL.**

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VOL. IV.      **APRIL, 1828.**      No. 2.

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**Review**

*Of Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee, with a Statistical account of that Kingdom, and Geographical Notices of other parts of the Interior of Africa.* By EDWARD BOWDICH, Esq., Conductor. London, 1819.

(CONTINUED FROM p. 13.)

OUR last number contained a minute account of the very imposing circumstances which attended the entrance of Mr. Bowdich and his companions into Coomassie, the capital of Ashantee. "A range of spacious but ruinous buildings" were allotted to them for a residence, and several days elapsed before they were permitted to make known, publicly, the objects of their mission.

They were invited to "speak their first palaver" in the market, that all the people might understand it. Here they found the King, "encircled by the most splendid insignia and surrounded by his caboceers." Mr. James, "through his linguist, declared to the King's, (who are alone allowed to speak to him in public) that the objects of the mission were friendship and commerce"—that the English desired that some one of their na-

tion might be permitted to reside at Coomassie, and that a direct path should be opened to Cape Coast Castle. He assured the King that the valuable presents which they had brought, would convince him that they were acting with perfect sincerity and good faith.

Shortly after this interview, the King requested that the presents should be sent to his own house. This it was supposed was from policy, to prevent any favourable bias on the part of the caboceers and people towards the mission, which a public exhibition of them might produce.

When the packages were opened, nothing could exceed the pleasure and surprise of the King.—“Englishmen”, said he, admiring the workmanship of the different articles, “know how to do every thing proper.” “This showed him that the English were a great people, that they wished to be friends with him, to be as one with the Ashantees; this made him much pleasure to see, and he thanked the King of England, the Governor of Cape Coast Castle, and the officers who brought the presents, much, very much.”

Thus far every thing seemed prosperous. The King sent his messenger to repeat his expressions of gratitude for the gifts which had been bestowed on him. The mathematical and astronomical instruments were greatly admired, particularly the telescope and camera obscura, and called forth the exclamation, that “Englishmen knew more than Dutchmen or Danes—that black men knew nothing.” Suddenly, however, a difficulty occurred of a very alarming nature, and which came near to defeating all the purposes of the mission. The following is the account given of it by Mr. Bowdich, which we insert for the purpose of strikingly illustrating the disposition of the King, and showing the necessity of promptness and resolution in dealing with such rude and undisciplined minds.

“The King then ordered our people to be dismissed, said he would look at the telescope in a larger place, that now he wished to talk with us. He again acknowledged the gratification of Tuesday, and desired Mr. James to explain to him two notes which he produced, written by the Governor in chief, at the request of Amooney, King of Annamaboe, and Adokoo, Chief of the Braffoes, making over to Sai, King of Ashantee, four ackies per month of their Company’s pay, as a pledge of their allegiance, and the

termination of hostilities.\* The impression seemed instantly to have rooted itself in the King's mind, that this was the Governor's individual act, or that he had instanced it; his countenance changed, his counsellors became enraged—they were all impatience, we all anxiety. 'Tell the white men,' said the King, 'what they said yesterday made me much pleasure; I was glad we were to be friends; but to-day I see they come to put shame upon my face; this breaks my heart too much. The English know, with my powder, with my own shot, I drove the Fantees under their forts; I spread my sword over, they were all killed, and their books from the fort are mine. I can do as much for the English, as the Fantees: they know this well; they know that I have only to send a captain, to get all the heads of the Fantees. These white men cheat me; they think to make 'Shantee fool; they pretend to make friends with me, and they join with the Fantees to cheat me, to put shame upon my face: this makes the blood come from my heart.' This was reported by his linguist with a passion of gesture and utterance scarcely inferior to the King's; the irritation spread throughout the circle, and swelled even to uproar.

"Thus much was inevitable (says Mr. Bowdich in his communication to the Governor); it was one of our anticipated difficulties; it was not a defeat, but a check; and here originates our charge against Mr. James, whom we declare to have been deficient in presence of mind, and not to have exerted those assurances and arguments, which, with a considerate zeal, might at least have tended to ameliorate the unjust impression of the King, if not to have eradicated it. Mr. James said, 'the Governor of Cape Coast Castle had done it, that he knew nothing about it, that he was sent only to make the compliments to the King, that if the King liked to send a messenger with him, *he was going back, and would tell the Governor all that the King said.*' This was all that was advanced. Was this enough for such a mission to effect? The King repeated, 'That he had expected we had come to settle all palavers, and to stay and make friends with him; but we came to make a fool of him.' The King asked him to tell him how much had been paid on these notes since his demand—that he knew white men had large books which told this. Mr. James said he had seen, but he could not recollect. Nothing could exceed the King's indignation—'White men', he exclaimed, 'know how many months pass, how many years they live, and they know this, but they wont tell me; could not the other white men tell me?' Mr. James said 'we never looked in the books.'

"Mr. James's embarrassment had not only hurried him to extricate himself, as an individual, at the expense of his own dignity and intellect, but, which was worse, he had thrown the whole onus of this invidious transaction on the shoulders of the Governor in Chief; against whom the King's prejudice would be fatal to all, and whose interest in his honour was most flattering to the King, most auspicious to us and the hopes of the mission; not only the future prosperity, but the present security of the settlements



hung upon this, and the dagger was at this moment suspended by a cobweb. Mr. Bowdich urged this in the ear of Mr. James, urged the danger of leaving the King thus provoked, the fatal sacrifice of every object of the mission, the discredit of the service, the disgrace of ourselves. Mr. James replied, 'he knew the Governor's private sentiments best.'

"The Moors of authority seized the moment, and zealously fanned the flame which encircled us; for the King looking in vain for those testimonies of British feeling which presence of mind would have imposed, exclaimed as he turned his ears from the Moors, 'I know the English come to spy out the country; they come to cheat me; they want war, they want war.' Mr. James said, 'No! we want trade.' The King impatiently continued, 'They join the Fantees to put shame upon my face; I will send a captain to-morrow to take these books, and bring me the heads of all the Fantees under the forts; the white men know I can do this, I have only to speak to my captains. The Dutch Governor does not cheat me, he does not shame me before the Fantees; he sends me the whole four oza. a month. The Danes do not shame me, and the English four achies a month is nothing to me; I can send a captain for all; they wish war.' He drew his beard into his mouth, bit it, and rushing abruptly from his seat, exclaimed, 'Shantee foo! Shantee foo! Ah! ah!' Then shaking his finger at us, with an angry aspect, would have burst from us with the exclamation, 'If a black man had brought me this message, I would have had his head cut off before me.'—Mr. James was silent. Not a moment was to be lost. Mr. Bowdich stood before the King, and begged to be heard; his attention was arrested, the clamours of the council gradually abated; there was no interpreter but the one Mr. James brought from his own fort, and no alternative but to charge him promptly in the Governor's name, before reflection could associate the wishes of his master, to speak truly. Mr. Bowdich continued standing before the King, and declared "that the Governor wished to gain his friendship more than he could think;" that we were sent not only to compliment him, but to write what he had to say to the Governor, and to wait to tell his answer to the King, and to do all he ordered; to settle all palavers, and to make Ashantees and English as one before we went back. That the Governor of Accra (Mr. James) was sick and in pain, and naturally wished to go back soon, but that himself and the other two officers would stay with the King until they made him sure that the Governor was a good friend to him. That we would rather get anger and lose every thing ourselves, than let the King think the Governor sent us to put shame on him; that we would trust our lives to the King, until we had received the Governor's letter to make him think so, and to tell us to do all that was right, to make the Ashantees and English as one; and this would show the King we did not come to spy the country, but to do good.' Conviction flashed across the countenance of the interpreter, and he must have done Mr. Bowdich's speech justice; for the cheerful aspect of the morning was resumed in every

countenance. The applause was general; the King (who had again resumed his seat) held out his hand to Mr. Bowdich, and said, 'He spoke well; what he spoke was good; he liked his palaver much.' "

By this energy on the part of Mr. Bowdich, the great difficulty which threatened defeat to the purposes of the mission, seemed to be removed. The preceding extract is from the joint letter of Messrs. Bowdich, Hutchison, and Tedlie, to the Governor of Cape Coast Castle, in consequence of which Mr. James was recalled, and Mr. Bowdich appointed Principal in his place.—The Moors exerted themselves continually, to prevent the success of the English. Two days after the interview of which we have just given some account, Mr. Bowdich and his associates, were conducted a short distance out of town, to an assembly of Moorish Caboceers and dignitaries, and required to swear upon the Koran that they had put no poison in the King's liquor.—This they refused to do, but offered to take oath upon their own prayer books. The King's linguist requested them to strike the Koran thrice, and make the desired declaration, because the Moors said, that the book would kill them if they spoke falsehood. Having done this, they received about two hours afterwards, the following present from the King:—

"One Bullock, two Pigs, eight ounces of Gold, for Mr. James.

"One Sheep, two ounces four ackies of Gold, for each of us.

"To each of the numerous Fantee Messengers, ten ackies of Gold.

"To our Cooks, a large assortment of pots and country vessels, 100 large billets of wood, 100 Yams, 100 bunches of Plantains, four of Sugar Cane, four (24 gallon) pots of Palm Oil, three jars of Palm Wine.

"To the Soldiers, ten ackies of Gold.

"To the Accra Linguist, ten ackies of Gold."

This was not the only instance of the King's liberality; it was repeatedly manifested in an equal degree, whenever he was gratified with the conduct of the mission. Mr. Bowdich declares the sentiments of the King on one occasion, to have been "incredibly liberal, and such as would have ennobled the most civilized Monarchs." The palace is thus described:

"On Saturday we were summoned to the King, and waited as usual, a

considerable time in one of the outer courts of the Palace, which is an immense building of a variety of oblong courts and regular squares; the former with arcades along the one side, some of round arches symmetrically turned, having a skeleton of bamboo; the entablatures exuberantly adorned with bold, fan, and trellis work of Egyptian character. They have a suite of rooms over them with small windows of wooden lattice, of intricate but regular carved work, and some have frames cased with thin gold. The squares have a large apartment on each side, open in front, with two supporting pillars, which break the view, and give it all the appearance of the proscenium or front of the stage of the older Italian Theatres. They are lofty and regular, and the cornices of a very bold cane work in alto relievo. A drop curtain of curiously plaited cane is suspended in front, and in each we observed chairs and stools embossed with gold, and beds of silk with scattered regalia. The most ornamented part of the palace is the residence of the women. We have passed through it once: the fronts of the apartments were closed (except two open door ways) by pannels of curious open carving, conveying a striking resemblance at first sight to an early Gothic screen: one was entirely closed and had two curious doors of a low arch, and strengthened or battened with wood work, carved in high relief and painted red. Doors chancing to open as we passed, surprised us with a glimpse of large apartments in corners we could not have thought of; the most secret appeared the most adorned. In our daily course through the palace there is always a delay of some minutes, before the door of each of the several distinct squares is unlocked; within the innermost square is the Council Chamber."

The appearance of the King on one occasion, is thus described:—

"He was encircled by a varied profusion of insignia, even more sumptuous than that we had seen before, and sat at the end of two long files of counsellors, caboceers, and captains; they were seated under their umbrellas, composed of scarlet and yellow cloth, silks, shawls, cottons and every glaring variety, with carved and golden pelicans, panthers, baboons, barrels, crescents, &c. on the top; the shape generally a dome. Distinct and pompous retinues were placed around, with gold canes, spangled elephants' tails to brush off the flies, gold headed swords, and embossed muskets, and many splendid novelties too numerous but for a particular report. Each had the dignitaries of his own province or establishment to his right and left; and it was truly a "Concilium in concilio." This magnificence seemed the effect of enchantment."

On one occasion the embassy proceeded to Sallagha, a town situated at a considerable distance to the North East of Coomasie. Here the King received them with every mark of attention and respect. He anxiously inquired if they had breakfasted,

and ordered refreshments. In a house prepared for their reception, they found soups, stews, plantains, yams, rice, &c. (sufficient for an army, all excellently cooked) wine, spirits, oranges, and every fruit. About two o'clock dinner was announced.

"We had been taught to prepare for a surprise, but it was exceeded.—We were conducted to the eastern side of the croom, to a door of green reeds, which excluded the crowd, and admitted us through a short avenue to the King's garden, an area equal to one of the large squares in London. The breezes were strong and constant. In the centre four large umbrellas of new scarlet cloth were fixed, under which was the King's dining table, (heightened for the occasion) and covered in the most imposing manner; his massy plate was well disposed, and silver forks, knives, and spoons, (Col Torrane's) were plentifully laid. The large silver waiter supported a roasting pig in the centre; the other dishes on the table were roasted ducks, fowls, stews, pease, puddings, &c &c. On the ground on one side of the table were various soups, and every sort of vegetable; and elevated parallel with the other side, were oranges, pines, and other fruits; sugar candy, Port and Madeira wine, spirits and Dutch cordials, with glasses. Before we sat down the King met us, and said: that as we had come out to see him, we must receive the following present from his hand: two ounces, four ackies of gold—one sheep and one large hog for the officers—ten ackies to the linguists, and five ackies to the servants.

"We never saw a dinner more handsomely served, and never ate a better. On our expressing our relish, the King sent for his cooks and gave them ten ackies. The King and a few of his captains sat at a distance, but he visited us constantly, and seemed quite proud of the scene; he conversed freely, and expressed much satisfaction at our toasts:—"The King of Ashantee, the King of England, the Governor, the King's Captains, a perpetual union (with a speech which is the *sine qua non*,) and the handsome women of England and Ashantee." After dinner the King made many inquiries about England, and retired as we did, that our servants might clear the table, which he insisted on. When he returned, some of the wine and Dutch cordials remaining, he gave them to our servants to take with them, and ordered the table cloth, to be thrown to them and all the napkins. A cold pig, cold fowls, (with six that had not been dressed) were despatched to Coomassie for our supper. We took leave about five o'clock, the King accompanying us to the end of the croom, where he took our hands and wished us good night."

One great object of the mission, the ratification of a treaty of peace, friendship and commerce, could not be effected without repeated explanations from the Governor of Cape Coast Castle. Four months therefore elapsed. before Mr. Bowdich's return be-

It is important to be reported to the Board, as a fact in the history of the health of the Colony, well attested by experience, that persons advanced in age, are almost sure to abridge by several years, the length of their lives, by removing to this country. They are not particularly liable to be cut off by the first impression of the fever—but generally sure to be worn out by slow degrees, within a very few years afterwards. The mind sympathises with the body, and both gradually sink together. But it is otherwise with the vigorous and the young. They readily adapt their habits to the peculiarities of the African life—and enjoy the most perfect health. It is but little, indeed, that the aged *can* gain on the most favourable supposition, by removing to this Colony. Eight in ten shorten their days by it. And it is my decided opinion, that they ought to end their lives where they have worn them out; and not be sent out to Africa, merely to save America a grave to rest their bones in. They cannot contribute to multiply their race—which is itself an apology for their remaining in America, and an objection to their transportation to the Colony.—And, on this point, indulge me in remarking, further, that we, on this side the water think we sometimes discover reasons why certain individuals *do*, and certain others *do not*, leave America, which may have escaped the agents in that country.

Admitting the popularity of the scheme at home, to require the indiscriminate acceptance of every man that may be offered as a candidate for transportation—yet, at this stage of our settlements, it is altogether unquestionable, that the welfare of the Colony requires no little discrimination in the selection of emigrants.—In 1824, the Colony was *saved* by the seasonable arrival of three or four scores of select emigrants from Virginia. It is not impossible even now, for as many thousands, sent out without selection, to overthrow it. A man of sound principle and sterling worth, and much more, a well trained, industrious and virtuous family, is beginning to be appreciated as an important accession to our community. Not that such individuals or families are not already numerous—but the sphere of every man's influence, placed on so raised an eminence, as he must here occupy, is so wide, as to make it desirable, were the thing possible, that we should have few, or none of opposite character.

CALDWELL, DECEMBER 7, 1827.

The militia of the Colony has undergone an important change, in its organization this season. As intimated in my last, the compulsory system, which has so often left the militia of the U. States to disgrace their country, in the face of an enemy, by their want of science, discipline, and (in consequence) of firmness, has been exploded. It is not possible to introduce into any militia system, the severity of military law—consequently the efficiency of militia, must depend on such qualifications as are the growth of the voluntary principles of human nature.—But where the military spirit is not sufficiently active to engage the soldier, under reasonable encouragements, to improve, and perfect himself, *without compulsion*, in the military art—it is not sufficient to make him a soldier under any circumstances applicable to the people of the Colony.

Certain fatigue services, and much drudgery connected with the defence of the Colony, there is to be done—and as this duty requires nothing but a pair of able hands, it is divided in the shape of a labour-tax amongst all the settlers. But the duty of bearing arms, and of enrolment in the serviceable militia of the Colony, is left to the public spirit of the people. And I am pleased to be able to state, that there are but about half a dozen able-bodied men, not specially exempted, who are not, *by voluntary enrolment*, members of an uniformed corps.

The oldest of these companies, is Captain Barbour's Light Infantry—composed of select young men, completely armed and equipt, highly disciplined (relatively)—and consisting of about *forty* men. Uniform, light blue, faced with white.

The next, in age, is Captain Davis's, (Caldwell,) heavy Infantry. Uniform, white with blue bars—well armed and accoutred, and indifferently well disciplined. It has, at the present moment, fewer men than the Light Infantry, but will during the ensuing season become the larger company.

The third is a company of Light Artillery, Monrovia, composed of select young men—completely uniformed and equipt, and having been lately organized on the new principle, consists of only about thirty men. But, as this corps is exceedingly popular, it must very rapidly increase for some time to come. Capt. Devany is the present commander of the corps. Its uniform, deep blue with red facings.

The fourth corps is also a newly organized Artillery company, commanded by Captain Prout—and belongs to Caldwell. Its number is nearly equal to Captain Devany's.

No. 5. is properly a detachment of twenty Guards, under Lt. Johnson; enlisted, or drafted for one year from the body of the citizens, for the exclusive purpose of manning Fort Norris battery. These guards being liable at any moment, to be called to their posts by a signal gun from the battery, *ought* to be in high discipline. We endeavour to make them perfect in all that relates to the management of garrison ordnance. When stationed for the protection of foreign vessels, or for the detention of vessels attempting to violate the port, or commercial regulations of the Colony, they are entitled to be paid each man, five cents per the hour.

Besides this guard, a subaltern officer, at a compensation of 18 dollars per month, is stationed constantly at Fort Norris battery, where he resides with his family. His duty is to keep the guns, armament, and ammunition of the battery, in a state of complete readiness for service. He is charged with the signals of the Colony; by means of which every vessel that appears, with all its movements, and every circumstance relating to it, is instantly announced to the Agent, or officer of the guard, in town.

Two-thirds of this officer's pay is from the store house; *one* third from the colonial treasury.

The Tower on *Crown Hill* has not been resumed this season. Central Fort is slowly advancing towards completion, on the plan sent home, last winter. The three pentagonal, two-story Towers at the angles, were erected, and roofed, and used even before the last rains, as green houses. But they want plastering, and some additional work about the port-holes. The three walls connecting these angular works into one, and covering the principal battery of the Fort, are now laying—and without unknown interruptions, will be completed during the present dry season.

The Market House, of which a plan was sent home nearly 18 months ago, and a part of the materials at that time collected, after having been suspended from time to time since, is now proceeding with fresh spirit. The work was dropped in 1826, in

consequence of a part of the settlers withholding their quota of the money required for its erection, from a disagreement as to its situation. And I did not feel authorized to make so large an appropriation of the public funds, for such a building, as a partial and limited contribution on the part of the people to the work, would require.—Its site is Central Avenue, a little to the Eastward of the centre of the present settled part of the town.

A neat, but small building of two stories has been erected since my last, for a Colonial Dispensary. Hitherto, not only great inconvenience has been the consequence of having no building in which our medicines and hospital stores might be disposed in an orderly manner, but much loss by damage and waste, has been suffered from the want of one. The basement story is of mason-work—the upper, frame—well plastered inside, and painted without. The building will cost about \$270, and be completed in the month of January.

It is not my intention to erect many new buildings this season—but direct my attention to the completion of such as are already erected, but not entirely finished.—Of these, are the new Agency house, into which I have determined, in case of the continuance of my life, to remove on the first day of March. The Piazza—much more expensive than the body of the house, is now nearly completed. But little remains to be done to the house, except the Venitian work—plastering and painting. Some out-houses and additions must be constructed—but these I shall defer to another season—as they are not at present absolutely required.—I am now employed in walling in the public premises, both at the Cape, and at Caldwell—a work very necessary; but as the Cape lot embraces an acre of ground—and the Caldwell buildings occupy more than two acres, it will be attended with great labour, and considerable expense.

The United States' Buildings at Stockton have also to be painted—some of them plastered—and all underpinned this season; as also the Public Receptacle on the St. Paul's. The last named item of building, except at Monrovia, is very expensive, as we must either use bricks, or transport every stone the distance of 4 to 7 miles from the Cape, not a stone being to be found in either of the other settlements.

The recaptured Africans, introduced per the Norfolk, gener-



ally retained their health through the first months—but there were in all, from 40 to 50 exceptions. All are now in perfect health—and in a condition vastly improved. They have more than equalled our highest anticipations; proving to be generally orderly, easily governed, and willing to labour. They have, indeed, proved an acquisition to the Colony; as they supply the places of vagrant country labourers, whose object in hiring to the settlers, in short terms of one or two months at a time, have commonly been, less their wages, than the means of committing depredations on their employers.—I have retained in the public service for the year, at Monrovia, seven men and three wives—at the Infirmary, three women, and three children—and at Caldwell, four men, two women, and a child, total 21.—The residue have places among the settlers.—At the end of the year, (or in August 1828,) I am pledged to grant to all such as deserve them, lands on the Stockton and elsewhere.—I have judged it sufficient, at first, to allow to single men two acres; and to married, three. This will suffice for several years to come—and better even make to the industrious and deserving a second grant subsequently, than grant them the choice of the public lands in unnecessary quantities, before it can be known whether they possess sufficient industry and enterprise to reduce them to cultivation.

After the first of January it is intended that a Packet Boat, large enough to accommodate 20 passengers with their baggage, will ply every second day between Monrovia and Caldwell, and return on the intermediate days; touching at Stockton Town, and the half way farms, going and returning.—Such an accommodation has become almost indispensable, the intercourse between the settlements, particularly from Caldwell to Monrovia, and from Monrovia to the half way farms, having grown too frequent and large for individuals to provide themselves with the means of conveyance. It is not improbable, that two or three years will produce a demand for Steam-boat Engines in the Colony. A single Boat of about forty tons could, at this moment, be employed with advantage and economy, to ply, one half the year, between Monrovia, and all our factories. The climate is destructive to all machinery intended to work with exactness, unless kept in constant use; and it is only the circumstance of

being obliged to lay up a Steam-boat for half of the year, that prevents an immediate application for one.

It was stated in former communications, that I had entered on a negotiation with "Mama," the proprietress of the North half of Bushrod Island, the object of which was, in the American phraseology, "to extinguish her title" to all the lands forming the right, or Western bank of the Stockton. Since I began this letter, I have effected the ceremony of executing the deed ceding to the Colony this tract of land. The cession was agreed upon several months ago. Enclosed (*See Paper A*) is the deed. A settlement had already been commenced on this tract, opposite to Caldwell, of which it is designed for the present, to form a part. We have thus occupied Bushrod Island; which, containing a tract of 20,000 acres of fine, level land, is destined at some future period, and that not very remote, to become the orchard and granary of the Montserado district of Liberia.

MONROVIA, DEC. 18, 1827.

To-day arrived in our Roads the schooner Susan, Edwards, of and from Baltimore, after the very uncommon passage of 70 days. Passenger, John Henson, a colonist, who brings advice of the outfit of a transport with 100 emigrants—whose arrival may be expected in January.

Capt. Edwards brings an assorted cargo, which will readily sell for wood; but the articles are not in sufficient demand to sell readily for Ivory or dollars.

The sooner the emigrants now arrive the better. We have shelters ready for their reception—and have so systematized the provisioning department, as to be put a very little out of our ordinary course, by the addition of 1 to 2 hundred settlers—an event, which, two years ago, would have reduced the whole Colony, for a month or more, to a "make-shift."

It must have occurred to the Board of Managers, that their colonists have put them hitherto, to very great expense, for their support after they reach this country. It has occupied a large share of my attention the year past—and I believe the plan hitherto acted upon, is susceptible of considerable improvement in point of economy. Six months' support has been afforded to *all* without distinction, or other exceptions, than of such individuals as proved able to take care of themselves.

The improvement proposed, is, to provide all with comfortable houses for a reasonable term, gratuitously; and, *as far as practicable*, with tools and implements of husbandry. Thus far, all are to be assisted, unconditionally, and equally—but no farther. Every man is immediately to have his building lot, and other lands, laid off and assigned to him—and encouraged without delay, to proceed to occupy and improve them; and to such as actually do so, such farther aid, in the way of provisions, coarse clothing, &c. will be afforded, as the supplies on hand will allow, and the diligence of the settlers individually, entitle them to. All others, if mechanics, are expected to exercise their trades; if farmers, will be put to work on the public farm, and paid according to their earnings—chiefly in provisions, and common materials for clothing, with a few building materials.

Few, under these circumstances, will long delay to fix themselves on their own premises, and spend their labour on their own improvements.

The sick, for the time being, must receive their subsistence, as well as medical treatment, at the public expense. But so soon as they are struck from the sick list, let them be replaced on the common footing of the other new emigrants in health.

The aged—some single women—and particularly single women with large families, are obliged to be a greater burden on the public funds—and must have a large part of their support at the public expense, for 6, 9, and even 12 months. With the approbation of the Board, I will make a thorough experiment of this method—which I must beg leave to observe, cannot be well attested in any other way. Of one point, I have not a doubt—and that is, that a very great reduction can be effected in the expenses incurred on account of settlers after their arrival in the Colony: and it is a subject too deeply affecting the whole scheme of colonization, not to receive immediate and constant attention. I am sensible, that much depends on the Agent in this country. But he requires the advice and instructions of the Board; and much may certainly be done towards lightening future expenses, by not only suffering, but encouraging all emigrants to bring all their tools, implements, cooking and domestic utensils, except such bulky articles alone, as it would be manifestly absurd to lumber a ship with. When tools, &c. are

bought for, or by emigrants, they ought, if for mechanics, to be of course, those of their trades—otherwise, to consist almost wholly of *Axes*, broad and narrow, a large supply;—*Hoes*, hilling and grubbing;—*Picks*; *Spades*; *Bill-hooks*; *Saws*, whip, cross-cut, and hand; *Files*; *Frows*; *Drawingknives*; and Jack and Fore Planes.

To these tools, add *nails*; and your emigrants are equipt for their first two years' work.

*Friday, December 21, 1827.*

Arrived, the U. States' ship, "Ontario," returning home from the Mediterranean—from Gibraltar, the 11th of Nov. Captain Nicolson has kindly offered to take charge of letters. This gentleman has, since his arrival, taken unwearied pains to ascertain from personal inspection, the true state, and I think has qualified himself to judge correctly of the prospects of the settlers.—His ship will probably remain five days at the Cape.

Same day, arrived from *Basle*, by way of England and Sierra Leone, a pioneer of the Swiss Mission, to be established in Liberia. In May last, three Missionaries, *Händt*, *Hegele*, and *Sessing*, all single, were deputed by the Evangelical Society of *Basle*, for Liberia. They arrived in England in June—where, pursuant to instructions, they remained till the 11th of November—when they went on board, at London, of an English ship, bound to Sierra Leone; but were obliged, by stress of weather, to put back into Portsmouth. On the point of sailing from that port, *Hegele* received a wound on the head, by the falling of a block, which, it was feared, would prove mortal. He was conveyed on shore, and necessarily left to the providence of God, and the care of Christian friends; while the two others, Messrs. *Handt* and *Sessing*, proceeded on their voyage, and arrived at Sierra Leone about the 10th of the present month. On the 12th, the U. S. ship *Ontario*, leaving Sierra Leone for Liberia, Capt. Nicolson generously offered the Missionaries a passage to this place. It was not possible, however, for a public vessel to bring more than a very small part of the very ample stores with which the munificence of European Christians had furnished these devoted servants of God and man on their final departure from their native country. Only one could, therefore, accept of

Capt. N's. overture, and Mr. Sessing has accordingly arrived here by that ship, on the 21st. Mr. Handt awaits at Sierra Leone, a passage for himself and the missionary property, to this Colony.

But these two gentlemen are only the pioneers of a much larger force, nearly ready to follow. Two more were on the point of leaving Switzerland, when these left England, and may be expected in two months' time. Dr. Blumhardt has written me, in the name of the Directing Committee of the Basle Evangelical Institution, a letter full of the most excellent sentiments—and of paternal and affectionate concern for the young men of the Mission. It is needless to say, that they possess the entire confidence of that judicious and excellent man, and his very respectable associates—and that all temporal views, in the formation of this Christian establishment, are utterly discarded. Too much is, perhaps, left to my discretion, in regard to the selection of a site for the mission, and in recommending the mode of carrying it on, and the arrangement of its temporal concerns. While the civil and religious departments of the Colony are preserved as distinct, as interests so infinitely dissimilar in their nature and importance should be, nothing can have a more salutary influence, both on the Colony and surrounding tribes, than a well conducted Christian Mission in the hands of pious and enlightened men.

For what is civilization,—regard either its real value to rational and immortal beings, or its intrinsic nature and character, without the Christian religion? Two hundred years' constant intercourse with Europeans, has left the people of the coast less intelligent, less industrious, lower in the scale of human nature, and more debased in moral principle, than the heathen tribes of the interior which never saw a white man.

The gentlemen of the Mission are all liberally educated—and all either possess mechanical trades, or have been accustomed to agriculture. I expect them to remain a few months in our settlements, to learn to stand the climate—and then proceed to some station not upon the sea coast, nor yet, at too great a distance in the interior, and to sit down under the protection of the Colony. At present, it appears likely they will fix their first station some where among the leeward tribes, who speak

the Bassa language—perhaps, on one of the smaller islands in the St. John's River, about 8 or 9 miles from its mouth. But nothing has yet been certainly determined. Their whole lives are devoted to the work of evangelizing and civilizing these tribes; and may they receive a great reward in that world to which they look for it.

Eight coloured people, natives of the United States, and all capable of great usefulness, and recommended in strong terms by Capt. Nicolson, have been discharged from the "Ontario," and received at the Colony, as probationers for citizenship.—They have received in drafts on the United States, and otherwise, nearly three years' wages—which, well managed, will set them all up in business at once.

Capt. N. also deserves, in behalf of the Colony, my very particular acknowledgments. Having, at Gibraltar, notice of the destination of his ship, he was at the pains to procure for the Colony, from Tunis, a collection of most of the useful garden and other seeds, of African production. These, with other seeds collected in the Archipelago and Asia Minor, he has left in my hands. Our hope is, that they may so far succeed as to seed the Colony permanently with such species of the different vegetables as shall be natural to the climate, which we have in vain attempted to do with the American species.

Capt. N. has, greatly to his own credit, and my gratification, evinced not only a favourable disposition, but anxious solicitude for the advancement of your Colony—of which he has given more substantial proofs than by mere professions.

Respectfully, Gentlemen,

I have the honour to remain

Your obedient servant,

J. ASHMUN.



## **Report of the Select Com. to Congress.**

Many of our friends will doubtless read the following Report with deep interest. We have ever believed that the great work so auspiciously commenced by the Society, must be completed

by the power of the States and the Nation. We hail with delight, therefore, every indication of a friendly disposition, either on the part of the State Legislatures or the Federal Government.

Mr. MERCEN, from the Select Committee appointed on the subject, made the following Report: March 3, 1827.

*The Committee to whom were referred sundry memorials of the American Colonization Society, of citizens of various portions of the United States, together with the resolutions of the Legislatures of the States of Delaware and Kentucky, inviting the aid of the Federal Government to colonize in Africa, with their own consent, the free people of colour of the United States, report:*

That the memorials and resolutions present to the consideration of Congress an object which must be regarded as of the highest importance to the future peace, prosperity, and happiness of the United States.

Surrounded with difficulties, in proportion to the magnitude of the interests that it involves, has been the circumspection with which the committee have approached it. Could they hope that the evil, to which the memorials and resolutions point, would find a remedy in silent neglect, or could be mitigated by concealment, they would ask to be discharged from its further investigation. The peculiar delicacy of another topic, almost inseparable, in imagination at least, however distinguishable in truth, from the purpose of the several memorials and resolutions referred to them, would induce the committee to avoid its consideration, if a sense of duty, prompted by the hope that their labour may not be in vain, did not urge them to proceed in the delicate task imposed upon them by the order of the House.

Its object, the committee are well aware, is not novel, nor even now for the first time, presented to the notice of Congress.

It involves an inquiry into the expediency of promoting, by the authority and resources of the General Government, the colonization of the free people of colour, beyond the territorial limits of the United States.

The existence of a distinct race of people, in the bosom of the United States, who, both by their moral and political condition and their natural complexion, are excluded from a social equality with the great body of the community, invited the serious attention and awakened the anxious solicitude of many American statesmen, as soon as the unhappy traffic which had annually multiplied them, ceased to be regarded as innocent. A part of them, once held by the same tenure which originally introduced them all into America, were, in some of the United States, liberated before, and in others, by, the revolution. In many States, however, their total number was, as it still continues to be, so great, that universal or general emancipation could not be hazarded, without endangering a convulsion fatal to the peace of society. No truth has been more awfully demonstrated by the

experience of the present age, than that to render freedom a blessing, man must be qualified for its enjoyment; that a total revolution in his character cannot be instantaneously wrought by the agency of ordinary moral and physical causes, or by the sudden force of unprepared revolution.

Still, in many States of the American Union, all the coloured population are now free; and, in others, so circumstanced as still to render universal emancipation dangerous to the public happiness; large bodies of free coloured people have arisen, from the influence of humanity in the master, under a system of laws which, if they did not promote, did not till recently prohibit, voluntary enfranchisement. The enlargement of the rights of the coloured race extend, however, to very various limits in the different States. In no two, perhaps, has it precisely the same extent. In none does it efface all civil and political distinctions between the coloured man and the white inhabitant or citizen. Over moral influences mere laws have every where less power than manners. No where in America, therefore, has emancipation elevated the coloured race to perfect equality with the white; and, in many States, the disparity is so great that it may be questioned whether the condition of the slave, while protected by his master, however degraded in itself, is not preferable to that of the free negro. Nor is this any where so questionable as in those States which have both the greatest number of slaves and of free people of colour. It is, at the same time, worthy of remark, that, among *these*, the principle of voluntary emancipation has operated to a much greater extent than the laws themselves, or the principle of coercion upon the master has ever done even among those States who had no danger, whatever, to apprehend from the speedy and universal extension of human liberty. So little ground is there, in fact, to be found among the different sections of the Union for those uncandid reproaches which, where not reprov'd, as alike impolitic and unjust, are calculated to sow the seeds of lasting jealousies and animosities among societies of men whose best interests are indissolubly connected, and who have only to know each other, intimately, to be as cordially united by mutual esteem as they are by a common government.

All must concur, however, in regarding the present condition of the free coloured race in America as inconsistent with its future social and political advancement, and, where slavery exists at all, as calculated to aggravate its evils without any atoning good. Among those evils, the most obvious is the restraint imposed upon emancipation by the laws of so many of the slave holding States: laws, deriving their recent origin from the obvious manifestation which the increase of the free coloured population has furnished, of the inconvenience and danger of multiplying their number where slavery exists at all.

Their own consciousness of their degraded condition in the United States, has appeared to the North as well as the South, in their repeated efforts to find a territory beyond the limits of the Union to which they may retire,



and on which, secure from external danger, they may hope for the enjoyment of political as well as civil liberty.

The belief that such would and should be their desire, and a conviction that the voluntary removal of this part of the population of the U. States would greatly conduce to the future happiness of the residue, have turned the anxious attention of many private citizens, and the Legislatures of several States, to the expediency of affording to them the means of colonizing a territory in Africa.

Anterior to the year 1806 three several attempts to procure a country suited to this object, had been secretly made by the General Assembly of Virginia, through a correspondence between the Executive of that State and the President of the United States.

The last, but, at the same time, the earliest *public effort* to attain this object, was made by the Legislature of the same State, in December, 1816, some time before the formation, in the City of Washington, of the American Society for colonizing the free people of colour. The design of this institution, the committee are apprized, *originated* in the disclosure of the secret resolutions of prior Legislatures of that State, to which may also be ascribed, it is understood, the renewal of their obvious purpose in the resolution subjoined to this report: a resolution which was first adopted by the House of Delegates of Virginia, on the 14th of December, 1816, with an unanimity which denoted the deep interest that it inspired, and which openly manifested to the world a steady adherence to the humane policy which had secretly animated the same councils at a much earlier period.— This brief and correct history of the origin of the American Colonization Society evinces, that it sprung from a deep solicitude for *Southern* interests, and among those most competent to discern and to promote them.

Founded by the co-operation of several distinguished statesmen, co-operating with many patriotic and pious citizens, the American Colonization Society, for colonizing the free people of colour, soon received the countenance of the Legislature of Maryland, and, succeeding it, at shorter or longer intervals, the unequivocal approbation of the States of Georgia and Tennessee, as it has very recently done of Delaware and Kentucky.

To these have been added, during the prosecution of its benevolent design, the favourable opinions and pious aspirations for its success, of almost every religious society in the United States.

To these influences, and to the success of its measures, it may be ascribed, that private subscriptions to the extent of near sixty thousand dollars, have co-operated with the collateral aid of the American Government in founding the present flourishing Colony of Liberia. On two several occasions, in the years 1825 and 1826, the General Assembly of Virginia have voted, at the request of the Society, a small pecuniary aid to its resources; and that of Maryland has, by a fixed annuity, very lately concurred in a similar benefaction. These acts may be regarded as an earnest of the con-

tinued adherence of both States to the opinions which they have repeatedly expressed in behalf of the object of the American Colonization Society.

The success of the Society, however, so far as it has advanced, is attributable, under Heaven, mainly to the persevering zeal and prudence of its members, and to the countenance and aid which it has both merited and received from the Federal Government.

The last annual report of the Society, which is hereto annexed, and the following extracts from the various reports and resolutions of former committees of the House of Representatives, charged, from time to time, with an inquiry into the most effectual means of suppressing the African Slave Trade, will show the present condition of the Colony which the Society have planted on the coast of Africa; its present relation to the Federal Government; and the character and extent of the aid which it has derived from the national resources. The prosperity of the Colony, your committee are assured by the report and memorial of the Society, surpasses the most sanguine hopes of its early founders, and furnishes conclusive evidence of the capacity of such communities, spread along the coast of Africa, not only to abolish, effectually, that inhuman traffic which has hitherto baffled the combined efforts of the Christian world, but to afford, on this oppressed continent, the long-sought asylum to such of its free descendants in America, as may choose to return to the land of their progenitors.

The aid hitherto derived by the Society from the co-operation of the Federal Government, has been limited to the execution of the act of 1819, under "the just and liberal construction" given to it, by the late President of the United States, in honour of whom, the chief town of the Colony has received a name which it will hand down, it may be hoped, to remote posterity, as a perpetual memorial of the wisdom and benevolence of the nation, over which he presided.

This construction harmonized the benevolent spirit of the act of Congress of 1807, which sought to abolish the American branch of the African slave trade, with the constitutional obligations of the General Government, to the several States, and to the Union.

The memorialists found, on views yet more enlarged, an application to the General Government for more extended aid; and, sustained as they are, by their own weight of character, and the approving voices of so many States; by the wishes of so large a portion, indeed, of the American people; these views are entitled to the most respectful consideration.

They request the Congress of the United States to assume the government and protection of the Colony of Liberia, and to furnish to the free people of colour, in America, the means of defraying the expense of their voluntary removal to the continent of their ancestors.

Objects of greater interest, though not now pressed, for the first time, on the consideration of Congress, have rarely been brought to the notice of this Government.

The first inquiry which they suggest, refers the Committee to the power of the Federal Government to grant the prayer of the memorialists; the next, to the expediency of doing so.

The Committee entertain no doubt, whatever, but that the Government of the United States has the constitutional power to acquire territory; and that the people of every inhabited country, so acquired, must be regarded as standing, towards the Federal Government, in the relation of colonial dependence, till admitted as co-ordinate States with the common Union.

The inhabitants of every portion of the former Northwestern Territory, deriving their birth from the thirteen original States, and possessing the right of emigration, were, strictly speaking, recognized colonies of their common mother country, as are, at present, the territories of Arkansas, Michigan, and Florida. They had not the right of self-government, nor have these; but they were, or are, dependent, for their laws, upon the Congress of the United States. Such territories, with their inhabitants, can, in no sense, be regarded as the colonies of any particular State, being made up of emigrants from all the States to the common territory of all, and the power to govern them has been exercised, at all times, under the unquestioned and indisputable authority of the Union.

No State having the power to enter into any negotiation for the acquisition of foreign territory, the authority to make a treaty for that object must and does, vest in the United States, or it exists no where. This reasoning is in accordance with the past history of the United States, and the tenor of the earliest report upon this subject from a Committee of this House. But, while this Committee recognize, in the Federal Government, the power to negotiate for the acquisition of territory, and to govern it and its inhabitants when acquired, as a Colony, they are not prepared, at present, to admit the expediency of doing so, in relation to the people and territory of Africa. Were the exercise of such a power deemed, by the Committee, indispensably necessary to the benevolent and useful purposes of the memorialists, a decision on the expediency of the measure proposed, would be involved in greater difficulty, and inspire the deepest solicitude. But, the Committee entertain a different opinion. The Colonial Agent of the American Society has experienced, especially of late, very little difficulty in procuring accessions of territory. No such difficulty need hereafter be apprehended, or none that mere pecuniary aid would not promptly obviate. Nor, for the protection of the Colony against a civilized enemy, does it appear to your Committee to be required, that the United States should assume over it any jurisdiction or power of political and civil government.—The fatality of the climate of tropical Africa to the constitution of the white man, forms one source of the security of any Colony of persons capable of withstanding its influence. Against the predatory incursions of the feeble tribes in the neighbourhood of the American Colony, its own strength manifestly suffices for its defence; and, from the power of the maritime States

of Europe and America, and the agitations and dangers of their frequent wars, the humanity of the world would afford a better protection than the flag of any single State, however powerful.

While the Colony of Sierra Leone was subject, as is that of Liberia at present, to the moral control of a society of private gentlemen, it was once, during the disorders of the French Revolution, attacked by a French squadron; but, such was the indignation awakened by this act of wanton barbarity, that it was promptly disavowed by the Revolutionary Government of France: and, in all the subsequent wars of Great Britain, such an act has never been repeated, or even apprehended.

To render this moral protection more authoritative, your Committee beg leave to recommend to the House, in conformity with the report of a former Committee acting in relation to the same subject, the adoption of a resolution, requesting the President of the United States to "enter upon such negotiations as he may deem expedient, with all the maritime Powers of the Christian world, for the purpose of securing to the Colony of "Liberia," and such other colonies as may be planted on the African coast, for like purposes, so long as they may merit it, "the advantages of a perpetual neutrality."

Against the hazard, which must, however, shortly cease, if it has not already done so, arising from the desperate enterprises of those piratical adventurers who frequent the African coast, for the purpose of carrying on a trade now prohibited, North of the Equator, by all nations, and continued to the South by Brazil and Portugal alone, the growing strength of the Colony, aided by the frequent presence of the American flag in its vicinity, will furnish adequate security. To provide for its internal tranquillity, an assumption of its government, by the United States, would seem at first to be of greater moment. To the future peace and prosperity of the Colony, it may appear to be an indispensable guarantee. Some of the memorialists have so regarded it.

But as a responsibility, involving political considerations of no small magnitude, would, of necessity, attach to the exercise, by the United States, of a sovereign jurisdiction over a remote territory and people, the committee have been led, in conformity with the principles which they have already laid down, to consider it more prudent to trust the internal government of the Colony to the administration by which it has been, hitherto, so successfully conducted.

A mixture of the control of other magistrates than those of the same colour with the colonists, to be drawn, for that purpose, from the white population of the United States, might possibly arouse in other States, as well as in the colonists themselves, jealousies which do not at present exist, while no small sacrifice of human life would be the obvious consequence of attempting to sustain an authority over the Colony by the force of any other power than that moral control which repeated benefactions, a sense of grati-

tude, and the dictates of interest, may long preserve to its American founders, and their successors.

When its population and power shall entitle Liberia to rank, as it may, and in all human probability will, hereafter do, among the civilized States of the Earth, negotiation will keep open and improve the avenue which, in its feeble, though yet flourishing condition, it now offers to the admission of the coloured race from America. Thus it may continue to subserve all the benevolent and useful purposes which its early patrons and friends had in view, without subjecting it to entangling alliances with, or a degrading dependence upon, any other political community.

The power and the expediency of affording pecuniary aid to the voluntary removal of the free people of colour, from America to Africa, are questions presenting to the committee fewer difficulties.

It is not easy to discern any object to which the pecuniary resources of the Union can be applied, of greater importance to the national security and welfare, than to provide for the removal, in a manner consistent with the rights and interests of the several States, of the free coloured population within their limits. And your committee would not hesitate to accompany this report with a resolution recommending, with suitable conditions, such an appropriation, did not the public business remaining to be disposed of, by the present Congress, preclude the hope, if not the possibility, of obtaining for such a resolution the sanction of this House.

They close their report, therefore, with an earnest recommendation of the prayer of the memorialists, and the accompanying resolutions of the States of Kentucky and Delaware, to the early attention of the next Congress.



## “The Crisis,

### *Or Essays on the Usurpations of the Federal Government.”*

A pamphlet, with the above title, of 166 pages, has recently been published in Charleston, South Carolina. It is an extraordinary production. The adoption of any measures by the Federal Government in aid of the Colonization Society, (and the Tariff and Internal Improvements are regarded with a like spirit,) is denounced as a most wicked usurpation, justifying on the part of South Carolina, not only remonstrance but REBELLION. Rather than submit to such usurpation, the author declares himself ready for war, or even DISUNION. He compares himself to

Cassandra, and in this respect we doubt not the resemblance will hold good—that his ravings will be disregarded. To examine these essays generally, is not our present purpose. When not better employed, we may give them some attention. Our object now, is to show by one or two short extracts, how little reliance is to be placed upon the statements of this writer; and leave our readers to conjecture, if such are his assertions, what must be his arguments. The following is the account given of our Journal.

“It (the Colonization Society) causes to be published, at the seat of Government, under its immediate auspices, a monthly Journal, which it styles the “African Repository,” published by order of the Managers of the Society. It is in this periodical that are constantly disseminated, the sentiments which are to make the slave dissatisfied with his condition, and the master doubtful whether he ought to hold in subjection his slave. It is here that we have essays, in which the system of servitude is portrayed in colours the most frightful and disgusting. It is this Journal in which the tales are to be told, and the anecdotes related, of the cruelty of owners to their slaves. And it is here again, that are recorded the examples of those silly mortals who sacrificed their wealth upon the altars of a moral enthusiasm; who think they aggrandize their country by manumitting their slaves, and thus letting loose beings, neither fitted, by education or by habit, for freedom; and who must be a walking pestilence wherever they go. It is in this Journal, that are constantly expressed, those mischievous forebodings, “that the time must come, when the oppressed must rise against the oppressor with a desolating vengeance.””

Now we appeal to the candour of our countrymen, and ask, is the above a fair representation of our work? Have we aimed to excite discontent among slaves? Have we sought to render the owners of slaves odious, by retailing anecdotes of their cruelty? Every honorable man will do us the justice to answer no.

Again, the Essayist remarks that,

“The negro Colony has been established ten years, and now consists of about 600 poor wretches, who would be very glad, no doubt, to return if they could.”

Compare this with the account of Capt. Nicolson, who visited the Colony in the Ontario, and who cannot possibly be supposed guilty of misrepresentation. His words are,

“The population is now 1,200, and is healthy and thriving. The appear-

ance of all the Colonists, those of Monrovia as well as those of Caldwell, indicated more than contentment. Their manners were those of freemen, who experienced the blessings of liberty, and appreciated the boon. Many of them had, by trade, accumulated a competency, if the possession of from three to five thousand dollars can be called so."

Who but one under the influence of a disordered imagination, could have penned such a sentence as the following?

"The abolitionists of Philadelphia, by a great effort, have just returned as a member to Congress, Mr. Sergeant; and that the labours of this Wilberforce of the western world, in the next Congress may not be in vain, the seat of the operations of the Abolition Society, is to be transferred from Philadelphia to Washington, that in conjunction with the Colonization Society, and the labours of Judge Washington, of the Supreme Court, that great NATIONAL object may be accomplished:—THE RUIN OF THE SOUTHERN STATES!!!

The parts of the preceding sentence in capitals, were so printed by its author. We leave him for the present, wishing to him "mens sana," when he may again attempt to instruct the public.



### **Letter from a Gentleman in S. Carolina.**

We have reason to believe that many of the most respectable citizens of South Carolina, entirely approve of the design of our Institution. All the virtuous and religious will, we doubt not, be with us, when they correctly understand our objects. The misrepresentations and abuse of our enemies will finally place the true character of our Society in a stronger light, and give to our cause a nobler triumph. The "crisis" is indeed near, when the people of the South will feel that our Institution has special claims to their efforts, since its success would confer on them peculiar benefits. We publish the following from a Gentleman in South Carolina with great pleasure.

"I have just read the Eleventh Annual Report of the American Colonization Society, together with the 36th number of the African Repository, with great satisfaction. I am extremely glad to hear of the general enterprising spirit which is now in exercise, among many of the free-born sons of America, in behalf of that unfortunate race of the human family, whom we have among us. While our philanthropy, generosity, and goodwill have abound-

ed towards heathen nations, sympathies have at length been aroused in favour of that oppressed part of our species, the commonness of whose deplorable case, and the selfish interest that many had in them, made it a matter of no concern, with even the Christian and the professedly humane for many past years.

"But I thank the Lord, that at length the thunders of conscience and justice have awakened to action many, who, till lately, cared but little about the miserable slave, or the degraded free black man; and that they are now active in the great work of colonizing the free people of colour in the land of their forefathers. Though a slave country has been the place of my nativity, yet I hope ever to cherish that principle of right, which, unvitiated by interest or prejudice, rejoices at the welfare of the poor Africans, and at every effort which is made to better their condition."



### Anthony Benezet.

In 1786, four years before Mr. Wilberforce made his celebrated motion in the British Parliament for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, Dr. Rush delivered a discourse before the American Philosophical Society, from which we make the following quotation. The sentiment it contains, affords striking evidence of the sagacity of its author, and proves that amid his investigations and discoveries in medical science, he found time to reflect profoundly upon the *influence of moral causes on the character and conduct of nations*. Dr. Rush could discern in "the labours, the publications, the private letters, and prayers of Anthony Benezet," a power which, in its progress, though it might be silent and slow, would be resistless and sure; which accumulating and expanding among future generations, would accomplish the most glorious revolution in favour of human happiness—sweep from the face of the earth the most intolerable evils, and cover the wide territories of the unenlightened and oppressed, with the habitations of civilized life and with the churches of God.

"The State of Pennsylvania still deplores the loss of a man, in whom not only reason and revelation, but many of the physical causes that have been enumerated, concurred to produce such attainments in moral excellency, as have seldom appeared in a human being. This amiable citizen considered his fellow-creature man as God's extract, from his own works; and



whether this image of himself was cut out from ebony or copper; whether he spoke his own or a foreign language; or whether he worshipped with ceremonies or without them, he still considered him as a brother, and equally the object of his benevolence. Poets and historians, who are to live hereafter, to you I commit his panegyric; and when you hear of a law for abolishing slavery in each of the American States, such as was passed in Pennsylvania in the year 1780; when you hear of the Kings and Queens of Europe, publishing edicts for abolishing the trade in human souls; and lastly, when you hear of schools and churches, with all the arts of civilized life, being established among the nations of Africa; then remember and record, that this revolution in favour of human happiness, was the effect of the labours, the publications, the private letters, and the prayers of Anthony Benezet."—[Dr. Rush's Inquiry, &c.



## Masonic Liberty.

We find in the Montpelier Patriot, an Address of Hon. Phineas White, Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of this state, made to that Lodge on declining a re-election. It breathes a most excellent spirit—urging the duty of active beneficence, with an earnestness that well becomes a Grand Master, who would have Masonry benevolent, not in name only, but "in deed and in truth." In the discharge of the duties of his office, he last summer laid before the several Lodges in the state, the claims of the Colonization Society, which he again stated at some length in his Address. The result has been that the Grand Lodge at its late meeting, adopted the following resolution.

*Resolved*, That this Grand Lodge, highly approving of the objects of the American Colonization Society, present the sum of \$100 as a donation in aid of the funds of that Society.

Another resolution adopted at the same time, appointing a committee on the establishment of a Grand Lodge at Liberia, may be considered as evidence that so much interest is felt on this subject, that this donation will be followed by others.

The following sums were received of subordinate Lodges, by the Grand Secretary, as donations to the Colonization Society. Of Federal Lodge No. 15, at Randolph, \$10,—of Warren Lodge No. 23, at Woodstock, \$10,—of Social Masters No. 19, at Williamstown, \$20,—of Rural Lodge No. 52, Stockbridge, \$10.—[Vermont Chronicle.

## Postscript.

Despatches up to March the third, were received from the Colony by the Schooner Randolph, just as this sheet was going to press, and we have opportunity only to say, that the affairs of the Colony appear to be generally prosperous. The Doris, Randolph and Nautilus had all arrived in safety. It is with pain that we add, that the emigrants by the Doris, have since their arrival suffered severely by sickness, and among those from the North of Virginia, a more than usual number of deaths (24) has occurred. The Doris had a long passage of sixty-one days. This doubtless (having produced, as was ascertained, a scorbutic taint in the system) had some effect upon the subsequent health of those who embarked in her. Mr. Ashmun had been very ill, but was thought to be convalescent. Further information must be postponed until next number. We publish the following from the Colonial Agent.

### A CARD.

J. ASHMUN, Agent A. C. S. for the Colony of Liberia, takes this method of acknowledging, generally, the receipt of numerous valuable and esteemed communications, and a variety of donations, from the friends of the Colony in the United States, by the Brigs Doris and Nautilus, and the Schooner Randolph, all of which vessels arrived in Liberia between the 15th of Jan. and the 19th of Feb. inclusive; and adds with regret, that a severe illness, which has laid him aside from the 5th of Feb. to this date, renders it utterly impossible to reply to those favours in the manner they deserve.—Should a merciful Providence restore to him sufficient health, one of the first duties to which it shall be devoted, will be to satisfy the claims of these esteemed correspondents and benefactors of the Colony.

*Monrovia, February 29, 1828.*



The last London Missionary Register says, "The American Colony at Liberia possesses, it must be acknowledged, *very great advantages over every other on the Coast, for all the purposes of benevolence and piety.*"—[*Vermont Chronicle.*]

## Contributions

*To the American Colonization Society, in April, 1828.*

Auxy. Society, Washington co., Maryland, per S. Steele, Esq. Tr.	\$29
Rev. Otis Thompson, Roboboth, Mass. ....	2
Thomas White, Esq., Cambridge, Md. ....	4
Repository, .....	58
Collections in North Carolina, by the Rev. James Nourse, viz:	
J. Orkney, Washington, Beaufort county, .....	\$2
J. Fowle, do. do. ....	2
P. Brown, Murfreesborough, .....	2
Miss Ann E. Winna, .....	2 75
J. C. Stanley, Newbern, .....	5
Dr. E. Hawes, do. ....	25
Rev. J. Crowder, .....	1 10
Rev. L. D. Hatch, .....	10
Miss Bendict, Raleigh, .....	2
Cash from three persons, Cumberland, 50 cts. each, ...	1 50
Cumberland County Auxiliary Colonization Society, ...	30
James Webb and Wife, Orange county, .....	4
Elizabeth Waters, do. ....	1
Eliza G. Hasell, do. ....	1
Dennis Heart, do. ....	1
W. Kirkland, do. ....	1
James Child, do. ....	1
Professor Hooper, Chapel Hill, .....	5
J. W. Norwood, a balance collected, .....	55
Collection in Church, Murfreesborough, .....	15 50
Do. do. Newbern, .....	5 50
Do. do. Chapel Hill, July 1827, .....	10 75
Repository subscriptions paid him, .....	6
	135 65
Collections by C. Frye, Jefferson county, per Benj. Waters, ....	7 50
Rev. Rob. Logan, Fincastle, Va.—collected in 1825, .....	10
Rev. Mr. Davis, of Methodist Church, Washington, D. C., for collections by Ministers of his Church, as follows, viz:	
Rev. Robt. Barnes, .....	\$3
— John Rhodes, .....	6
— John Munroe, .....	1 62½
— John White, .....	7 37½
— Wm. Prettyman, .....	4 06½
— Th. Magee, .....	10
	32 06
Mr. & Mrs. Maynadier, Annapolis, Md. ....	2
Rev. Jos. Caldwell, Chapel Hill, N. C. ....	10
King Solomon Lodge No. 6, Gallatin, Tenn., per S. D. Ring, Esq.	20

\$310 21

THE  
**AFRICAN REPOSITORY,**  
AND  
**COLONIAL JOURNAL.**

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VOL. IV.                      **MAY, 1828.**                      No. 3.

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**Review**

*Of Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee, with a Statistical account of that Kingdom, and Geographical Notices of other parts of the Interior of Africa.* By EDWARD BOWDICH, Esq., Conductor. London, 1819.

(CONTINUED FROM p. 40.)

THE well-directed and persevering efforts of Mr. Bowdich finally resulted in the establishment of a treaty of peace and friendly intercourse, between the kingdom of Ashantee and Cape Coast Castle, and it was agreed that a British Officer should be constantly permitted to reside in Coomassie. Having therefore instructed Mr. Hutchison to remain, Mr. Bowdich, after encountering numerous difficulties, both in taking his departure, and in prosecuting his journey, returned to Cape Coast.

The remainder of this volume is occupied with a very minute and valuable account of the History, Population, Government and Laws; Superstitions, Customs, Language, Trade, Arts and Commerce of Ashantee; with a Diary, kept by Mr. Hutchison, during his residence in its Capital. It also contains a sketch of Gaboon, and a few remarks in reference to future missions into the interior.

To illustrate successfully, the important information obtained by Mr. Bowdich, of the *Geography of Africa*, would require a Map, which circumstances do not permit us at this time to present to our readers. We pass over, therefore, this portion of the work, with the single remark, that the countries bordering upon Ashantee contain a population far more numerous, wealthy and powerful, than we had imagined; and open a vast and entirely unexplored field, for the inquiries of future adventurers.

Of the History of Ashantee, founded principally upon vague traditionary testimony, we will give but a few of the more prominent particulars. In his investigations on this subject, Mr. Bowdich was obliged to encounter the absurd superstition of the natives, "that to speak of the death of a former King, affects the life of the present equally with inquiring who would be his successor; and to converse of either is made a capital crime by the law." Hence information was to be derived principally from the Moors, whose recent establishment in the country could not justify entire confidence in the accuracy of their statements.

"According to a common tradition, which I never heard contradicted but once, the Ashantees emigrated from a country nearer the water side, and subjecting the western Intas, and two lesser powers, founded the present kingdom. These people being comparatively advanced in several arts, the Ashantees necessarily adopted a portion of their language with the various novelties; which probably created the limited radical difference between their language and that of the Fantees; for I could not find, after taking the greatest pains, more than two hundred words unknown to the latter. The weights of the Inta country, in particular, were adopted with their names, by the conquerors, without the least alteration.

"The Ashantee, Fantee, Warsaw, Akim, Assin, and Aquapim languages are indisputably dialects of the same root; their identity is even more striking than that of the dialects of the ancient Greek: now the Fantees and Warsaws both cherish a tradition, which exists also in many Abanta families, that they were pressed from the interior to the water side by the successful ambition of a remote power; whence it may be concluded, that the Ashantee emigration we are now considering, was posterior to a more important movement of the whole people, corresponding with that of their neighbours. I will not dilate upon this secondary subject by referring to internal evidence, there is nothing to recompense either the investigation or the perusal.

"One curious evidence however may be added of the former identity of the Ashantee, Warsaw, Fantee, Akim, Assin, Aquamboe, and part of the.

Ahanta nations; which is a tradition that the whole of these people were originally comprehended in twelve tribes or families; the Aquonna, Abrootoo, Abbradi, Essonna, Annona, Yoko, Intchwa, Abadie, Appiadie, Tchweedam, Agoona, and Doomina; in which they class themselves still, without any regard to national distinction. For instance, Ashantees, Warsawa, Akims, Ahantas, or men of any of the nations before mentioned will severally declare, that they belong to the Annona family; other individuals of the different countries, that they are of the Tchweedam family; and when this is announced on meeting, they salute each other as brothers. The King of Ashantee is of the Annona family, so was our Accra and one of the Fantee linguists; Amanquateä is of the Essonna family. The Aquonna, Essonna, Intchwa, and Tchweedam, are the four patriarchal families, and preside over the intermediate ones, which are considered as the younger branches. I have taken some pains to acquire the etymology of these words, but with imperfect success; it requires much labour and patience, both to make a native comprehend, and to be comprehended by him.—Quonna is a buffalo, an animal forbade to be eaten by that family. Abrootoo signifies a corn stalk, and Abbradi a plantain. Annona is a parrot, but it is also said to be a characteristic of forbearance and patience. Esso is a bush cat, forbidden food to that family. Yoko is the red earth used to paint the lower parts of the houses in the interior. Intchwa is a dog, much relished by native epicures, and therefore a serious privation. Appiadie signifies a servant race. Etchwee is a panther, frequently eaten in the interior, and therefore not unnecessarily forbidden. Agoona signifies a place where palm oil is collected. These are all the etymologies in which the natives agree. Regarding these families as primæval institutions, I leave the subject to the conjectures of others, merely submitting, that the four patriarchal families, the Buffalo, the Bush Cat, the Panther, and the Dog, appear to record the first race of men living on hunting; the Dog family, probably, first training that animal to assist in the chase. The introduction of planting and agriculture, seems marked in the age of their immediate descendants, the Corn stalk and Plantain branches. The origin and improvement of architecture in the Red earth; and of commerce, probably, in the Palm oil: indeed, the natives have included the Portuguese, the first foreign traders they knew, in that family, alleging, that their long and more intimate intercourse with the blacks, has made the present race a mixture of the African and Portuguese. The Servant race reminds us of the curse of Canaan. This resembles a Jewish institution, but the people of Accra alone practise circumcision, and they speak a language, as will be shown, radically distinct, yet not to be assimilated to the Inta, to which nation they are referred by the Fantees, merely because it is the nearest which practises circumcision. Accra is a European corruption of the word Inkran, which means an ant, and they say the name was either given or assumed on account of their numbers; this must have been before their wars with the Aquamboes.

"The conduct of the later emigration of the Ashantees is ascribed to Sai Tootoo, who, assisted by other leading men of the party, and encouraged by superstitious omens, founded Coomassie, and was presented with the stool, or made King, from his superior qualifications. This account is supported by the mixed nature of the government, founded on equality and obligation, and the existence of a law, exempting the direct descendants of any of Sai Tootoo's peers and assistants (in whom the Aristocracy originated) from capital punishment.

"The Dwabin monarchy is said to have been founded at the same time by Boitinné, who was of the same family as Sai Tootoo, being the sons of sisters.

"The Ashantee government concentrated the mass of its original force, and making the chiefs resident in Coomassie and the few large towns they built in its neighbourhood, with titular dignities, conciliated those whom they subdued by continuing them in their governments, and checked them by exacting their frequent attendance at festivals, politically instituted.—Military command seems to have been the sole prerogative of Sai Tootoo; his judicial and legislative power being controlled by the chiefs or aristocracy much more than at present, who, as in the Teutonic governments, directed the common business of the state, only consulting a general assembly on extraordinary occasions.

"Sai Tootoo did not live to see all the streets of Coomassie completed, for war being declared against Atoä, a district between Akim and Assin, he invaded that country. The chief of the Atoäs, unable to face such a power, dexterously insinuated his small force through the forest, until he reached the rear of the Ashantee army, which the King was following leisurely with a guard of a few hundred men, all of whom were destroyed by the Atoäs, who shot the King in his hammock. This happening near a place called Cormantee, (razed to the ground in vengeance,) and on a Saturday, the most solemn oath of the Ashantees, is 'by Saturday and Cormantee;' ('Miminda Cormantee;') and no enterprise has since been undertaken on that day of the week.

The report of the Moors is, that the kingdom of Ashantee has been founded about 110 years. The present King, Sai Tootoo Quamina, is the sixth that has occupied the royal seat, and was elevated to the throne in 1799. He is represented as intelligent, brave, generous, amiable in private life, but ambitious, and anxious to extend his kingly power. The following anecdotes are illustrative of his character.

"The King had sent to demand the royal stool of Buntooko or Gaman, which was thickly plated and embossed with gold; it was given up by

Adinkara, the King, from fear; his sister, a woman of masculine spirit and talent, and the soul of the government, being absent. On her return, she reproached her brother severely, and ordered a solid gold stool to be made to replace it. That being also demanded, as the right of the superior, with a large gold ornament in the shape of an elephant, dug out from some ruins, the sister, receiving the ambassadors, replied, that the King should not have either, and added, impressing it with more force than delicacy, that her brother and she must change sexes, for she was most proper for a King, and would fight to the last rather than be so constantly despoiled. The King of Ashantee sent word that she was fit to be a king's sister, and a strong woman, and he would give her twelve months to prepare for war.—Several embassies have been sent, however, to negotiate; two during our stay, the latter, it was said, with an offer of 400 Bendas, (£3,200) but the aristocracy were obstinate, and urged to the King, that his other tributaries would laugh at him, if he did not get the King of Gaman's head.

“His admiration of ingenious rather than splendid novelty, has frequently imposed the appearance of a covetousness, scarcely culpable from his reverence for invention, and the amazement its extent excited. To present him with the trifles which attracted his notice when he visited us, offended him: he told us we must only answer his questions, and let him examine them; to make dashes on the occasion of a private visit, was to vitiate the motive of the condescension, which could not be repeated unless we paid more respect to his dignity and friendship. His humanity is frequently superior to his superstition and policy; he offended Quatchi Quofie, one of the four, by limiting the human sacrifices at his mother's funeral, and resisted all the importunities, founded on precedent, for the allowance of a greater number. He dismissed us twice with apologies for not proceeding to business; confessing, the first time, that he had been unusually irritated just after he sent for us, and had not recovered his calmness; the latter, that some agreeable news had induced him to drink more than fitted him to hear great palavers like ours. In his judicial administration, a lie always aggravated the punishment, and truth generally extenuated, and sometimes atoned of itself for the offence: he invariably anticipated the temerity of perjury, where convicting evidence was to be opposed to the accused. The King's manners are a happy mixture of dignity and affability, they engage rather than encourage, and his general deportment is conciliating though repressive. He speaks well, and more logically than most of his council, who are diffusive, but his superior talent is marked in the shrewd questions by which he fathoms a design or a narrative. He excels in courtesy, is wisely inquisitive, and candid in his comparisons: war, legislation, and mechanism, were his favourite topics in our private conversations. The great, but natural fault of the King is his ambition; I do not think it has ever proved superior to the pledge of his honour, but it certainly has, and that frequently, to his sense of justice, which is repressed



[rather than impaired by it. This sketch of his character being narrowed to my own knowledge, will be assisted by the following history of Agay, the second linguist.

"Agay, when a boy, carried salt from Aquoomo to Coomassie for sale; he was afterwards taken into the service of Aquootoo, caboceer of that place, against whom the government had instituted a palaver; but wrongfully. Agay accompanied the caboceer when he was sent for to Coomassie for judgment. After the King's messengers had spoken, misrepresenting the case in preference to confessing the King to be in the wrong, and the caboceer was confused, this boy suddenly rose, and said, to use the words of the narrators, 'King, you have people to wash you, to feed you, to serve you, but you have no people to speak the truth to you, and tell you when God does not like your palaver.' The assembly cried out unanimously, that the boy might be hurried away and his head taken off; but the King said, 'No! let him finish;' and Agay is said to have spoken three hours, and to have disclosed and argued the palaver to the King's conviction, and his master's acquittal. He was retained to attend the King, but treated with no particular distinction. A serious palaver occurring between two principal men, it was debated before the council, who were at a loss to decide, but inclined to the man whom the King doubted; judgment was suspended. In the interim the King sent Agay, privately, to the house of each, to hear their palavers in turn, tête-à-tête; he did so, and when the King asked him who he thought was right, he confirmed his impression. 'Now,' said the King, 'I know you have a good head.' Agay was then made a Linguist, and presented with a house, wives, slaves, and gold. Sometime afterwards, the King confessing a prejudice against a wealthy captain, his linguists, always inclined to support him, said, 'If you wish to take his stool from him, we will make the palaver;' but Agay sprung up, exclaiming, 'No, King! that is not good; that man never did you any wrong; you know all the gold of your subjects is yours at their death, but if you get all now, strangers will go away and say, only the King has gold, and that will not be good; but let them say the King has gold, all his captains have gold, and all his people have gold, then your country will look handsome, and the bush people fear you.' For this the King made him second linguist, and much increased his property. When Amanqua had the command of the army against Cudjo Cooma, the King asked him which linguist he would take, he replied, Adoosee or Otee; the King said, No! I will give you this boy, he has the best head for hard palavers. Amanqua urged that he was too young, the King told him he was a fool to say so. He then made Amanqua take fetish with him to report the merits of Agay faithfully, who distinguished himself so much, that he is always employed in difficult foreign palavers."

The higher order of Captains are represented as "dignified,

courteous, and hospitable in private; but haughty and abrupt in public. In their opinion, war affords the most desirable field for glory, and the ambition of their King is his greatest virtue. The common people are ungrateful, insolent and licentious.

The King, the Aristocracy, now reduced to four, and the Assembly of Captains, are the three estates of the Ashantee Government. The Aristocracy exert their influence without hesitation in reference to foreign politics, but seldom express an opinion concerning the domestic administration of affairs. The Ashantees believe that this form of government renders them more formidable to their enemies, "who feel that they cannot provoke with impunity, where there are so many guardians of the military glory," and also that the decrees of a monarch have naturally more force with a people, (over whom his power is unlimited) when issued without regard to any inferior authority. The following are among the laws enumerated by Mr. Bowdich.

"The most original feature of their law, that of succession, has been mentioned in the History, with the argument on which it is founded: it is universally binding; the course is, the brother, the sister's son, the son, the chief vassal or slave to the stool. In the Fantee country, the principal slave succeeds to the exclusion of the son, who only inherits his mother's property, frequently considerable, and inherited from her family independently of her husband: the daughters share a small part of the fetish or ornamental gold, which is much alloyed with silver.

"The King is heir to the gold of every subject, from the highest to the lowest; the fetish gold and the cloths are generally presented by him to the successor to the stool, from which the slaves and other property of the deceased are inseparable.

"The gold buried with members of the royal family, and afterwards deposited with their bones in the fetish house at Bantama, is sacred; and cannot be used, but to redeem the capital from the hands of an enemy, or in extreme national distress; and even then, the King must avoid the sight of it, if he would avoid the fatal vengeance of the fetish or deity.

"If a slave seeks refuge from an ally or tributary, he is restored; if from an unconnected power, he is received as a free subject.

"The blood of the son of a King, or of any of the royal family, cannot be shed; but when guilty of a crime of magnitude, they are drowned in the river Dah, by a particular captain, named Cudjo Samfani.

"If a man swears on the King's head, that another must kill him, which is understood to be invoking the King's death if he does not, the other man must do so; or forfeit the whole of his property, and generally his life.—

This very frequently occurs, for the blacks in their ardor for revenge, do not regard sacrificing their own lives to bring a palaver on their murderers, which their families are sure to do.

"To be convicted of cowardice is death.

"If any subject picks up gold dropped in the market place, it is death, being collected only by order of the government on emergencies.

"Interest of money is 33½ per cent. for every forty days, which is accompanied after the first period by a dash of liquor. When the patience of the creditor is exhausted, he seizes the debtor, or even any of his family, as slaves, and they can only be redeemed by the payment. This barbarous law was nearly the same in Athens.\*

"The accuser is never discovered or confronted to the accused, nor the evidence revealed, until the latter has fully replied to the charge, as outlined by the king's linguists.

"If a great man kills his equal in rank, he is generally allowed to die by his own hands: the death of an inferior is generally compensated by a fine to the family, equal to seven slaves.†

"If an aggy bead is broken in a scuffle, seven slaves are to be paid to the owner.

"It is forbidden, as it was by Lycurgus, to praise the beauty of another man's wife, being intrigue by implication.

"Those accused of witchcraft, or having a devil, are tortured to death.

"The good treatment of slaves is in some degree provided for, by the liberty they have of dashing or transferring themselves to any freeman; whom they enjoin to make them his property by invoking his death if he does not; an imperative appeal."

*(To be continued.)*

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\* "In Ahanta, all old debts must be paid within six weeks from the commencement of the Contoom or Harvest Custom. The creditor can panyar or seize not only the family, but the townsmen of the debtor.

† "A person accidentally killing another in Ahanta, pays 5 oz. of gold to the family, and defrays the burial customs. In the case of murder, it is 20 oz. of gold and a slave; or, he and his family become the slaves of the family of the deceased. If a man dashes himself to the fetish on the head of another, the other must redeem him. If a man kills himself on the head of another, the other must kill himself also, or pay 20 oz. to the family: in Fantee the sum is indefinitely great: this is frequently resorted to, when there is no other prospect of revenge.

"Adumissa, an extraordinarily beautiful red skinned woman of Cape Coast, possessed numerous admirers, but rejected them all. One of them, in despair, shot himself on her head close to her house. The family demanding satisfaction; to save her relations from a ruinous palaver, she resolved to shoot herself in expiation. She accordingly assembled her friends and relatives from various parts of the country, and sitting, richly dressed, killed herself in their presence with golden bullets. After the body had been exposed in state, it was buried with a profusion of cloths and gold. The beautiful Adumissa is still eulogised, and her favourite patterned cloth bears her name amongst the natives."

## Address

*Before the Auxiliary Colonization Society of Fredericksburg, Virginia.* By WILLIAM M. BLACKFORD, Esq.

The considerations presented in this very valuable address, must lend, we think, especially at the South, a very important influence in favour of our cause. The honour of having first proposed the scheme of the Society, is claimed by Mr. Blackford, for the State of Virginia. Nor can it be denied, that the Legislature of that State is entitled to vast credit, for the resolution adopted by her on this subject, in December 1816. This resolution, doubtless, encouraged the founders of our Society in their earliest efforts, and excited a hope, which we trust, will not be disappointed, that the object of our Institution would finally receive the patronage of the States and the Nation.—Public sentiment will, we believe, at no very remote period, require that our enterprise should be promoted by the Legislatures of the Country. The following extract from this address, we earnestly recommend to the perusal of all our readers.

“Not more injustice has been done the Society in misrepresenting its views, than in misapprehending the means by which it seeks their accomplishment. It has been sneeringly asked if we hoped to effect a work so mighty as the removal of the free people of colour, by the precarious means which public charity from time to time places at our disposal. We answer, no.—As well might we undertake by throwing pebbles at the pyramids to lay them prostrate on the ground. No one who is conversant with the proceedings of the Society—no one who has read its annual exposes, could rest under such a delusion. Repeatedly has the Society unequivocally avowed that it depended on the state and national governments to complete the fabric of which it could only hope to lay the foundation. The employment of the energies of the nation entered into the views of the original friends of the scheme. The object was national, and justly they thought, that national should be the means used in its accomplishment. But before the assistance of the nation could be asked with any prospect of success, much was to be done. The practicability of the plan, was to be in some measure ascertained—information collected—territory purchased—the willingness of the people to emigrate tested—and the problem of the possibility of a Colony existing in Africa solved. The public mind moreover was to be acted upon, and conflicting interests enlisted in the cause. Here

was a sphere for the operation of a private society, unconnected with government and supported by voluntary contribution, and in this sphere has the Society laboured faithfully and successfully.

"Deeply conscious of their inability, without national aid, to remove from this and to establish in Africa a number sufficient to produce a sensible diminution of the free coloured population, they did indulge the hope, which has been fully realized, that zeal and perseverance would enable them to transport as many as would illustrate the feasibility of the scheme. They well knew that the existence of a settlement, however small, whilst it served as a rallying point for the hopes of friends, would address itself with more force to the lukewarm, than arguments the most convincing or appeals the most animated. Such a settlement there is now on the coast of Africa, enjoying, in the seventh year of its existence, happiness and prosperity without a parallel in the annals of colonization; and the Society is now prepared to solicit and expect the harmonious co-operation of the federal and state governments. It is asked, not in behalf of some Utopian scheme of impracticable philanthropy, or adventurous folly: the request is founded on considerations of justice, interest, and humanity; and although national aid may be for a season postponed, it will ultimately be granted.—Constitutional scruples and sectional jealousies will be merged in the patriotic considerations of enlightened policy—and with the aid of the national government, who will say the scheme is impracticable? Bear with me, whilst I show at what a comparatively trifling expense the whole number of free blacks might be removed from our shores,—we will take 250,000 as the present number. The expense incurred by the Society in the expeditions recently fitted out, did not exceed \$20 per head, including provisions for a six weeks' voyage. Now, it is apparent that competition and the facilities afforded by a growing commerce between the colony and the parent country would diminish this price perhaps one-half—certainly one-fourth. Let \$15, then, be the charge. The removal of the whole number would cost but \$3,750,000. The removal of course would be gradual, and this amount not called for in any one year. The number which might annually be removed would depend on the capacity of the Colony to receive, and this capacity would increase in an accelerated ratio. Take then a period—say 20 years, and let the average annual exportation be 12,500—within that time, at an average annual expenditure of less than \$190,000, the whole of this anomalous population would be drained off.—Is this a chimerical project? Is the scheme of colonization so absurd, that the bare mention of it should curl with contempt the lip of the pragmatic politician? are the resources of the country unable to sustain such a draft on the Treasury? Shall it be said that the energies of a great nation are incompetent to the restoration of some 10 or 15,000 souls to a land, from which the cupidity of individuals annually purloins ten times the number, in defiance of all the legislative denunciations which British or American humanity has prompted.

"To many ardent friends of the scheme, and to all its opponents, the idea of federal agency in its accomplishment is, I am aware, sincerely deprecated. To the first of these, with all possible respect for their scruples, I would remark, that if colonization ever is to be effected, the interposition of the General Government is indispensable, from the disabilities which the states labour under, by the constitution. No state is permitted to enter into any treaty or to support a naval force—now it is apparent the exercise of both these powers would be necessary in the establishment of colonies; or granting the states to possess all requisite powers, were they to attempt colonization, each would, perhaps, have its own settlement; and, instead of one flourishing and profitable colony, we should see a number of feeble ones, burthensome to the parent state and conflicting in interests with each other. The states, most interested, might and would, no doubt, contribute to the society, when the patronage of the National Government had given to it that stability which, as a private institution, however respectable, it could not possess. Maryland, indeed, in the spirit of a liberal and enlightened policy, already makes an annual appropriation; and Virginia has shown her sense of its importance by repeated and generous donations."

Mr. Bradford expatiates upon the inestimable benefits, which will result from the execution of the Society's plan. The suppression of the slave trade, the civilization of Africa, and the deliverance of our country from its most threatening evil, may all be consequences of its vigorous prosecution. But we must conclude our too brief notice of this address, by inviting the public attention to a few of the closing sentences.

"I have now recapitulated, and answered I hope, objections which have been coeval with the Society. One word more in relation to others of recent date, so equivocal in character as to seem like compliments in disguise. It has been gravely alleged that ours is a 'gigantic' Society. Granted; and is not the object to be attained gigantic? It has been said that it is 'self-created.' We ask when was there a benevolent society that was not self-created? We are charged with possessing a 'great moral influence.' We are happy to hear it, and hope it may increase, until it pervades every section of the Union. Again, the clergy, and Christians of every denomination, support it. This is a charge which we can neither palliate nor deny; we confess its truth, but see in it no turpitude.

"Such, fellow-citizens, is the American Colonization Society—such its origin—such its progress—and such the results which, in a sober spirit, we may anticipate from the success of its plans. And should the mighty scheme be not realized in all its parts and to its full extent, blessings will nevertheless be attained proportionate to the degree to which it will have

been carried. This is not a charity which accomplishes nothing, if it accomplishes not all. On the contrary, a great good has already been done. The germ of an Americo-African empire has been planted; and though our Society should be dissolved to-morrow, it will flourish and expand until it overshadows a continent. Already has the miniature Commonwealth of Liberia impressed the natives with respect for the strength, and admiration for the beauty of the institutions of civilized life. By the justice which has marked its intercourse with them, the Colony has already attained an almost boundless influence over the neighbouring tribes. The ascendancy will be maintained, and must increase, until tribe after tribe, subdued by the bland influence of civilization and the simple power of the gospel, shall melt into and become incorporated with the community. No cruel process of extermination, such as marked with blood the settlement of this country, will there be necessary. The settlers and natives are of the same race, and amalgamation, so far from being there impracticable, will be natural, and indeed unavoidable. Let no one, then, refuse his aid, because years, generations, perhaps, must pass away, before the vast outline can be filled up. We may not live to enjoy the blessings which must result from the accomplishment of the plan; but with a firm faith in its ultimate success, it is our duty to bring heart, hand, and purse, to secure to our children and to our children's children the rich inheritance. The plan will succeed.—It is, I verily believe, from Heaven—and Heaven's blessing will attend it in every stage of its progress. A glorious era is yet in store for Africa, when we shall have rendered unto her the things which are her's—an era, more glorious than any she has known, awaits America, when, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, there shall be none other than one happy, united, homogeneous race of freemen. Then in the fulness of time shall two mighty renovated continents rise up to call him blessed, who gave the first impulse to the cause of AFRICAN COLONIZATION!!”



## Park's

### *Testimony in favour of the possibility of Civilizing the Africans.*

“It appears” (observes Mr. Park in summing up his account of the trade of Africa), “that slaves, gold, and ivory, together with the few articles enumerated in the beginning of my work, viz. bees-wax and honey, hides, gums, and dye-woods, constitute the whole catalogue of exportable commodities. Other productions, however, have been incidentally noticed as the growth of Africa; such as grain of different kinds, tobacco, indigo, cot-

ton-wool, and perhaps a few others; but of all these (which can only be obtained by cultivation and labour) the natives raise sufficient only for their own immediate use; nor, under the present system of their laws, manners, trade, and government, can any thing farther be expected from them. It cannot, however, admit of a doubt, that all the rich and valuable productions, both of the East and West Indies, might easily be naturalized and brought to the utmost perfection in the tropical parts of this immense continent. *Nothing is wanting to this end but example to enlighten the minds of the natives, and instruction to enable them to direct their industry to proper objects.* It was not possible for me to behold the wonderful fertility of the soil; the vast herds of cattle, proper both for labour and food; and a variety of other circumstances favourable to colonization and agriculture; and reflect, withal, on the means which presented themselves of a vast inland navigation; without lamenting that a country, so abundantly gifted and favoured by nature, should remain in its present savage and neglected state. Much more did I lament, that a people, *of manners and dispositions so gentle and benevolent*, should either be left, as they now are, immersed in the gross and uncomfortable blindness of pagan superstition, or permitted to become converts to a system of bigotry and fanaticism, which, without enlightening the mind, often debases the heart.”—[*Park's Travels*, chap. xxiii.



## Abduhl Rahahman,

### THE UNFORTUNATE MOORISH PRINCE.

Our number for February contained some account of this very interesting individual, in a letter from a Gentleman of Natchez. A few days since we had the pleasure of receiving a communication from the same Gentleman, by the hand of Prince. The following is an extract:—

“It affords me the highest gratification to say, that the bearer of this letter is Prince, the Captive Moor, in whose behalf I ad-



dressed you in February last. Since the date of my letter, he has been manumitted, and now proceeds to Washington.

“Prince, ascertaining that he was about to proceed to his native country, became deeply solicitous that his aged wife might accompany him. I immediately issued a paper for subscriptions; and so great was the respect for this unfortunate man, that the sum of two hundred dollars, the price at which his wife was valued by her master, was raised I believe in twenty-four hours. We are able, of course, to forward her and Prince by the same conveyance. They have children, and most devoutly wish they might go with them, &c.

“Prince is extremely anxious to obtain an Arabic Testament. This, I presume, you can provide for him. He leaves this place, Sir, with many benedictions. May the kindness of an overruling Providence protect him from the dangers of the mighty deep—return him in safety to the land of his nativity—make him an instrument of much good—may he be gathered to his fathers in peace.”

We have repeatedly conversed with Prince, since his arrival in our City; nor have our expectations concerning him, in any respect been disappointed. He is intelligent, modest, and obliging. Though he has been in slavery forty years, his manners are not merely prepossessing, but dignified. He is now anxiously engaged in seeking to obtain the means of purchasing his children. A liberal subscription has been commenced in this District, and it is the purpose of Prince to visit our more northern cities for the same object. When we recollect the kindness of Prince’s family in his own country to an American Citizen, (unintentionally left by a vessel on the coast,) how this individual during a period of sickness was hospitably entertained by his Father for six months, and in all probability by this means, his life preserved; we cannot but regard this unfortunate man, as having peculiar claims upon the assistance of our countrymen. At our request, Prince has written a concise history of himself, and we have penned a translation of it from his own lips. The only liberty we have taken, is to correct those grammatical inaccuracies, which resulted from his imperfect knowledge of our language.

## ABDUHL RAHAHMAN'S HISTORY.

"I was born in the City of Tombuctoo. My Father had been living in Tombuctoo, but removed to be King in Teembo, in Foota Jallo. His name was Almam Abraham. I was five years old when my father carried me from Tombuctoo. I lived in Teembo, mostly, until I was twenty-one, and followed the horsemen. I was made Captain when I was twenty-one—after they put me to that, and found that I had a very good head, at twenty-four they made me Colonel. At the age of twenty-six, they sent me to fight the Hebohs, because they destroyed the vessels that came to the coast, and prevented our trade. When we fought, I defeated them. But they went back one hundred miles into the country, and hid themselves in the mountain.—We could not see them, and did not expect there was any enemy. When we got there, we dismounted and led our horses, until we were half way up the mountain. Then they fired upon us. We saw the smoke, we heard the guns, we saw the people drop down. I told every one to run until we reached the top of the hill, then to wait for each other until all came there, and we would fight them. After I had arrived at the summit, I could see no one except my guard. They followed us, and we ran and fought. I saw this would not do. I told every one to run who wished to do so. Every one who wished to run, fled. I said I will not run for an African. I got down from my horse and sat down. One came behind and shot me in the shoulder. One came before and pointed his gun to shoot me, but seeing my clothes, (ornamented with gold,) he cried out, that! the King. Then every one turned down their guns, and came and took me. When they came to take me, I had a sword under me, but they did not see it. The first one that came, I sprang forward and killed. Then one came behind and knocked me down with a gun, and I fainted. They carried me to a pond of water, and dipped me in; after I came to myself they bound me. They pulled off my shoes, and made me go barefoot one hundred miles, and led my horse before me. After they took me to their own country, they kept me one week. As soon as my people got home, my father missed me. He raised a troop, and came after me; and as soon as the Hebohs knew he was coming, they

carried me into the wilderness. After my father came and burnt the country, they carried me to the Mandingo country, on the Gambia. They sold me directly, with fifty others, to an English ship. They took me to the Island of Dominica. After that I was taken to New Orleans. Then they took me to Natchez, and Colonel F. bought me. I have lived with Colonel F. 40 years. Thirty years I laboured hard. The last ten years I have been indulged a good deal. I have left five children behind, and eight grand children. I feel sad, to think of leaving my children behind me. I desire to go back to my own country again; but when I think of my children, it hurts my feelings. If I go to my own country, I cannot feel happy, if my children are left. I hope, by God's assistance, to recover them. Since I have been in Washington, I have found a good many friends. I hope they will treat me in other cities as they have treated me in the city of Washington, and then I shall get my children. I want to go to Baltimore, Philadelphia, and N. York, and then I shall return hither again."

#### HIS INTERVIEW WITH DR. COX.

"Dr. Cox was a surgeon on board a ship. He went ashore in Africa, and got lost. When he returned, he found the vessel gone. He set out to travel, and came into my country, Foota Jallo—our people saw him, and ran and told my father, that they saw a white man. My father told them to bring the white man here, that he might see him. They brought Dr. Cox, and my father asked him whither he was going. He said he knew not where to go, that the ship had left him, and that he had a bad sore leg. My father inquired what was the matter with his leg. He said he had wounded it in travelling. My father told him, he had better go no farther, but stay with him, and he would get a woman to cure his leg. He was soon cured. My father told him to stay as long as he chose. He remained six months. One day my father asked him, if he wished to go to his own country. He said yes. My father said, what makes you desire to go back—you are treated well here? He answered, that his father and mother would be anxious, when the vessel returned without him, thinking he might be dead. My father told him, whenever you wish to go, I will send a guard to

accompany you to the ship. Then fifteen men were sent with him by my father for a guard, and he gave him gold to pay his passage home. My father told the guard, that if a vessel was there, to leave the Doctor, but not to go on board the ship; and if there was no vessel, to bring the Doctor back. They waited some time, and then found the same vessel in which he came, and in that he took his passage. After that I was taken prisoner, and sent to Natchez. When I had been there sixteen years, Dr. Cox removed to Natchez, and one day I met him in the street. I said to a man who came with me from Africa, Sambo, that man rides like a white man I saw in my country. See when he comes by; if he opens but one eye, that is the same man. When he came up, hating to stop him without reason, I said master, you want to buy some potatoes? He asked, what potatoes have you? While he looked at the potatoes, I observed him carefully, and knew him, but he did not know me. He said boy, where did you come from? I said from Col. F's. He said, he did not raise you. Then he said, you came from Teembo? I answered, yes, sir. He said, your name Abduhl Rahahman? I said, yes, sir. Then springing from his horse, he embraced me, and inquired how I came to this country? Then he said, dash down your potatoes and come to my house. I said I could not, but must take the potatoes home. He rode quickly, and called a negro woman to take the potatoes from my head. Then he sent for Gov. W., to come and see me. When Gov. W. came, Dr. Cox said, I have been to this boy's father's house, and they treated me as kindly as my own parents. He told the Gov., if any money would purchase me, he would buy me, and send me home. The next morning he inquired how much would purchase me, but my master was unwilling to sell me. He offered large sums for me, but they were refused. Then he said to master, if you cannot part with him, use him well. After Dr. Cox died, his son offered a great price for me."

## **Late from Liberia.**

WE had room in our last number, merely to announce to our readers, the arrival of despatches (bearing date March 3d) by the Randolph from Liberia, and to state a few of the leading items of intelligence. The Randolph with 26 passengers from Georgetown, South Carolina; the Doris with 107, principally from Virginia, North Carolina, and Maryland; and the Nautilus with 160, most of them from the three last mentioned states, had arrived in safety. The Emigrants from South Carolina first arrived, and had enjoyed almost universal and perfect health.—“We confidently expect them (says Mr. Ashmun) to escape the fever altogether.” The passengers by the Doris had suffered severely, and a very unusual number of deaths (24) had occurred among those who had resided in states north of Virginia.

“Draw a line,” says Mr. Ashmun, “due east and west, across Elk Ridge, in Maryland, and not a death has invaded the people from the south of it.” It deserves likewise to be mentioned, that the last dry season upon the African Coast, was a peculiarly unhealthy one; that the passage of the Doris was protracted to the period of sixty-one days; and that in consequence, symptoms of the scurvy had appeared among the emigrants.—The combined influence of these causes, doubtless, increased the violence of the disease; and of course, the extent of the mortality. One other fact should be mentioned, which is, “that *all* the deaths occurred in Monrovia, not *one* in Caldwell; where somewhat less than one-half of the company, had from the first been quartered. Most sent up the river were, however, Virginians—but not all.” On this fact, we quote the remarks of Mr. Ashmun.

“There is, as I have before stated, an average difference of temperature in favour of Caldwell, of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to  $4^{\circ}$ , taking the heat of the 24 hours, at the two places, for months together. No doubt, a corresponding difference in other properties of the atmosphere, affecting the healthiness of the two situations, exists. What we have experienced in this instance, is the counterpart of all our past experience, of the relative healthiness of the two places. Except two children, I know not that ever an individual has yet died of fever in Caldwell. It may be inquired, why were not all the peo-

ple sent to Caldwell? A large proportion of the whole company had friends in Monrovia, who insisted with great earnestness, on retaining them in their families; or, in such spare buildings as they could fit up for their accommodation. I *advised* all except one family, whom I wished to settle in Monrovia, to go. Perhaps I ought to have *compelled*. But 300 people was more than the Caldwell Receptacle could contain. I was obliged to acquiesce in some arrangement which would furnish more room, and therefore the more readily consented to the stay of too great a number in town."

At the date of these communications, the emigrants by the *Nautilus* were in good health, though they had been in Africa far too short a time to feel the influences of the climate. As they are mostly from the South, we may reasonably hope, that they will escape any severe sufferings from sickness.

All who have observed the progress of our infant Colony, must be aware, that its high character of prosperity and promise, results in great measure, at least, from the distinguished energy and wisdom of the Colonial Agent. That his life and usefulness should have been so long continued, considering the dangers and toils of his station, will be viewed by the devout, as a cause for special gratitude to the Supreme Disposer of events. From the season (more than six years ago) when the earliest emigrants began to erect their dwellings on Cape Montserado, the present Agent has superintended with dauntless courage, unyielding fortitude, and an energy and discretion perhaps never exceeded, the affairs of the Colony, and conducted it forward to its present interesting and imposing position; nor in all this time has he once permitted any personal affliction, however severe, or public calamity, however discouraging, to subdue his confidence or quench his hopes. All will regret to learn, that the strength of his constitution has proved inadequate to sustain uninjured his recent efforts; and read with more than ordinary emotion, the concluding sentences of the following extract.—May the Father of Mercies long defer the event, the probable speedy occurrence of which is alluded to by the writer in terms expressive of piety and benevolence, so deeply affecting!

"Early in January, I made a most fatiguing visit of inspection, &c., to some of our leeward settlements. Returning on the 17th, I found in our harbour, the Brig *Hope* of Boston, awaiting my return, according to the tenor of instructions given by the owners to their Captain. I also found the

Romp, and Aretas from Portland, awaiting my return, under somewhat similar circumstances. The Schooner Susan was also there—and the Randolph had arrived with emigrants the evening before. The same evening came to anchor the Doris, with her 107 people. Such an accumulation of labour I never felt pressing on me before. Days and nights were too short. But I despatched previous to the 25th, *three* of the vessels—when another arrived from Sierra Leone, with special claims on my attention. A piratical Spaniard now came into our waters strongly armed, and being refused in his saucy application to trade ashore, he uttered certain threats of retaliation in the course of the night, which made it necessary to chase him out of our roads, and keep him off by force. In this business, I had my share of the fatigue and exposure till a late hour. Immediately after, I received a proposal from the interior, for opening a new trade path, on condition of our forming a settlement and factory at the head of navigation on the St. Paul's river, which admitted of no option—but required me immediately to explore that situation—and visit, for tedious negotiation, all the intermediate kings on both sides of the river. This business I accomplished in three days and nights—spending one night in the bush, beyond the habitations of the coast tribes. Returning, one of the most tedious inquests (of which such particulars as the Board are interested in, shall be given) I ever assisted in, employed me, and our magistrates, for *four successive days*. This ended—after assigning the emigrants their land, on the 2nd of February; I was confined by a laborious session of our Court, to the Court-House, *two successive days* longer. This was the 5th of February. I had felt my strength giving way—but there seemed no alternative. But Providence now taught me, He could do without my officious services. February 5th at night, a raging fever seized me. Several of the people sickened about the same time. Up to the 21st, I was tossing on the brink of eternity—And that I am recovered so far as, for the two days past, moderately to resume my labours, is to me matter of great astonishment. My delirium commonly abated with the return of day-light, and left my shattered mind sufficiently clear to give a few plain general instructions to those, on whose immediate activity the welfare of the people, and the progress of the Colony depends. These were very faithfully followed out—and little detriment, I trust, has resulted to any of its affairs from my being laid aside.—One death has, in the time, occurred, within my own family—Mr. S. E. Burnham, Supercargo of several of Mr. Cox's vessels on the coast, who died of consumption; in the last stage of which, I had received him into the house only ten days before. For the last four days my strength has returned, almost as rapidly as it went. But I hope the event will advertise the Board, that the constitution of their Agent, here, is not to be depended on—and that a most probable item of intelligence may very shortly be, that he too, is numbered with the departed. May provision be made accordingly. For myself, alone, the event has no appalling features—but, to leave

the Colony—to quit a field of labour forever, in which *so little* is yet done and *so much ought* to be done—here, I fear, will be the distressing pang of dying. But the Colony depends, I am persuaded, on the life of no one or ten individuals; and it is a vanity I do not indulge, that it has any such dependence on my own. But it is a field of labour, in which, if better workmen are not employed, I wish to be myself, so long as, with the divine blessing, I can do any good.”

The feeble health of the Colonial Agent, prevented any full communications in regard to the general concerns of the Colony. The Board have been favoured, however, with the following interesting facts, relating to *New Settlements*.

“Having just before my illness chartered to a small company of our oldest settlers, certain exclusive privileges for the term of two years, on condition they immediately removed to the head of Navigation on the St. Paul’s, and there formed an agricultural settlement in connexion with a public factory, to receive all the interior trade from that direction, I have the satisfaction to state, that they proceeded to occupy it on the 12th of February.—I had previously, perfectly reconciled the minds of the Dey, or St. Paul’s Chiefs, to the idea of such a settlement at that place, at an expense of about 100 bars. The country—the finest, I *must* say, I have yet seen in Africa for a settlement—had long been vacated—and left as a sort of barrier between the coast and interior tribes—without being particularly claimed by any. Hence the easy terms on which we have obtained the occupancy of it. A large log factory is now nearly completed, and with a range of houses sufficient to accommodate thirty or forty people,—built chiefly in the country style. One of the conditions of the charter is, that the settlers cultivate the present season (ending 15th of May) 32 acres.—The country is easily cleared—and abounds in small streams of fresh water; the St. Paul’s itself, at the Falls, is always sweet. To this settlement king Boatswain, with whom we are at present on very free and friendly terms, has engaged, and is believed to be now employing a large force in opening a trade road from his own residence. The distance is about one hundred miles; but from the nearest part of the old route, not more than fifty. It is hoped the great thoroughfare into the heart of Africa, will therefore, as regards the native traders, lie directly to, and terminate at this settlement.—Its agricultural advantages will of course attract to it, a large body of farmers in a short time; and its growth may be reasonably expected to be rapid. Agreeably to the order of the Board, we call it ‘Mills & Burgess,’ or, by way of contraction, to avoid some worse abbreviation, the charter has it ‘*akias*, Millsburg.’ The Young Sisters settlement, contemplated in my last, has been deferred in consequence of the obstinate and wretched war between Sisters and Trade Town, continuing to rage with a blind fury; which



forbids the hope of its speedy termination—and would place a few settlers in a state of perpetual alarm and insecurity.

"Most of the candidates for that settlement, are now at St. John's.—We are beginning this long contemplated Sub-Colony, but in a very moderate and silent way—as nothing seems likely to be gained by forcing its growth, beyond its own natural speed. Mr. Benson is our steward for that station—but has not yet repaired to his charge. The factor at present has charge of the public property—and the direction of the operations of the settlers. Mr. Warner, so long and deeply interested in the Sesters—has associated five or six individuals with himself, and petitioned us for liberty to proceed and settle there, notwithstanding the great unseasonableness of such an enterprise. We refused to sanction so wild a project—by affording it the public aid and protection. He persisted in his petition for liberty to go *without either*; and having obtained it, has actually gone with his followers. The enterprise, as a private one, is however not perfectly approved—but the individuals can only injure themselves—and if they should happen to keep a footing there, *may* benefit the Colony. This company consists wholly, (except Woods of Baltimore, per the Doris) of old settlers, who in such an undertaking, *ought* to know what they are about."

It is the decided opinion of Mr. Ashmun, "*That for at least two years to come, a much more discriminating selection of settlers must be made than ever has been—even in the first and second expeditions by the Elizabeth and Nautilus, in 1820, and '21—or that the prosperity of the Colony will inevitably and rapidly decline.*"\* At the end of that time, he remarks, a "healthy proportion of working and idle people will be found here, and the free coloured population of the United States, may then be taken up *just as they are found there*, the working and the idle, as they are now naturally distributed throughout the American States—and sent to this Colony—and my character for the stake, under good management, *they will not be felt by it as a burden.*"

Again he observes, "If rice grew spontaneously, and covered the country, yet it is possible by sending few or none able to reap and clean it, to starve ten thousand helpless children and infirm old people in the midst of so much plenty. Rice does

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\* Mr. Ashmun advises that no person be received for emigration, *who if he is not an able bodied man, is not a member of such a man's family—or, any able bodied man who has more than 3 or 4 at most, dependent on him for a support.*

not grow spontaneously however, nor can any thing necessary for the subsistence of the human species, be procured here without the sweat of the brow. Clothing, tools, and building materials are much dearer here than in America. But send out your emigrants laborious men and their families only—or laborious men and their families, accompanied with only their natural proportion of inefficient; and with the ordinary blessing of God, you may depend on their causing you a light expense in Liberia, and fixing themselves speedily and easily in comfortable and independent circumstances. I further think I may safely say, that in no new country in the world, would they be likely to meet with so many advantages, and find it so easy to get in a way of comfortable living, by their own moderate industry.”

To send out “inoperatives” at the present, is deemed by the Colonial Agent highly inexpedient. His views are concisely stated in few words. “If such persons are to be supported by American funds, why not keep them in America, where they can do something by picking cotton and stemming tobacco, towards supporting themselves? I know that nothing is effectually done, in colonizing this country, till the Colony’s own resources can sustain its own and a considerable annual increase of population. To this point it has been my great anxiety to bring it; and adopting and persisting in the course I have recommended, I am certain the Board will see it soon reach this point.”

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### **Latest from Liberia.**

We have received information (just as the last sheet of our number is going to the press,) of the arrival of the *Doris*, Capt. Matthews, in New York, by way of the West Indies. The Colonial Agent, Mr. Ashmun, was compelled as the last hope of recovering his health, to take passage in the *Doris* for the United States. His sufferings during the voyage to the West Indies, were extreme; and on his arrival at St. Bartholomews, he was obliged to place himself under the care of a Physician, and to see the *Doris* sail without him. The following letter, it will

be seen, was written before he had fully determined to make any stay at that Island.

*Island of St. Bartholomews, West Indies, May 10, 1828.*

"DEAR SIR: By a small Baltimore vessel bound hence to-morrow, I have just time and strength to inform you, of my arrival here yesterday evening in the *Doris*, 47 days from Liberia. The enclosed certificate and accompanying letters will show, in what a low state of health I left—and am sorry to be unable to state, that the passage has been attended with *all* the advantages anticipated from it. The form of my disorder has, however, taken on a new appearance, and at present consists chiefly in swelled feet and legs, attended with topical inflammation, and a severe, seated, and constant pain—which nearly takes from me the power of sleeping, and is at times nearly intolerable. I am now in the hands of a physician of the Island, who has the reputation of being skilfull—and with whom it will be necessary for me to remain—I hope not many days—but God knows—and I am submissive. The *Doris* remains here only four or five days—I shall certainly continue my passage home in her, if it can be done without rashness—and if not, by the next conveyance after my health is sufficiently amended to endure the voyage.

"I left the Colony the 25th March. The severe sickness had extended no further than to the *Doris's* company—all the other late emigrants had passed their seasoning without much danger or suffering. The health of the people generally, was good; and the usual internal prosperity, and external tranquillity happily prevailed.

"I was enabled to arrange the concerns of the Colony with Mr. Cary, even to the minutest particulars—and I have the greatest confidence that his administration will prove satisfactory, in a high degree, to the Board, and advantageous to the Colony.

"Excuse the unavoidable brevity of this note—and expect, Dear Sir, very shortly, either to hear from, or see me, per the *Doris*.

Meantime, Respectfully

Your Obedient Servant,

J. ASHMUN."

The Rev. R. R. GURLEY, *S. A. C. S., Washington.*

Under date of May 13th, he writes, "after a severe struggle with myself, I am obliged to yield to necessity, and see the *Doris* sail hence for the United States without me, uncertain when I am to follow, if at all. The nature of my first attack, I have already stated by the Randolph Mr. Cary's certificate will show the nature of my symptoms, on leaving Liberia. During the passage of 47 days, my sufferings were nearly indescribable.

I spent two weeks in the anticipation of an almost certain death, before I should see land again, and was at length wholly confined to my cot. On my arrival here, a thorough examination of my case discovered, that the form of the disorder had changed since leaving the African Coast; and that the evils of it could only be removed by slow degrees, and my exhausted strength, and skeleton frame, could bear none but the mildest medical treatment. To pursue my voyage home by the *Doris*, has been pronounced by my physician, as a certain means, either of bringing all my complaints to a speedy and fatal termination, or of giving them an inveteracy, which would render them incurable.

“Such are the circumstances under which I am obliged to submit to the heavy expense, and other still more painful consequences attendant on a stay (perhaps a final one) in this Island. I entered three days ago, on an active course of medicines, and, while my strength remains much as it was, my disordered legs and chest are already very sensibly relieved.”

From the concluding sentence, we are led to indulge strong hope, that a merciful God will yet spare to a cause, which he has served with such pure and heroic devotedness—with such remarkable energy and success—this invaluable man; and that we shall be permitted to see his face once more—be allowed to express to him, personally, the respect, more, the admiration which we feel for him, and which his conduct in laying the foundation of the African Colony, and conducting it forward to its present high place of promise, has excited in the breasts of thousands. The reward which he seeks, is not this world's honour; but cold would be the heart that at a moment like this, could hesitate to offer with its expressions of sympathy, a sincere tribute of praise.

Mr. Ashmun mentions the kind attentions of Mr. Matthews, in terms of great respect and gratitude; and observes, that nothing could have given him greater satisfaction, than to have completed the voyage in the *Doris*.

We have received several letters from the Rev. Lott Cary, Vice-Agent of the Colony, and others; all of whom mention with grief, the departure of Mr. Ashmun; yet appear to be in the enjoyment of great prosperity.

**Extracts from Correspondence.***From a Gentleman in Virginia.*

I congratulate you on the handsome legacy which He, who, as I believe, first put it into the hearts of some of his faithful servants to establish our Society, and whose kind providence fostered and protected it, has lately caused Mr. Burr, of Vermont, to leave to this Institution. I would fain hope that it may be the means of inspiring its friends with new ardour. A pious and exemplary Christian of this town, lately deceased, has, by her last will, directed her slaves, six in number, to be sent to the Colony, at the expense of her estate, if they shall think proper to accept the boon.

*From a Gentleman in Maine.*

Your affairs have an unusually bright aspect. Though I was once utterly an unbeliever in the success of your scheme, I am brought wholly over to the faith. I should now as soon calculate upon the failure of any one of the benevolent projects of the day, as upon that of your Institution.

*From a Gentleman in Vermont.*

At my request, the Editor of a Newspaper in this village, has republished your letter to Joel Early, Esq.; also the Address of the Colonists to the Free People of Colour in the United States. Those publications have produced among the Christians and philanthropists, an extensive inquiry, relative to the Society.—If every Editor would admit in the columns of their papers, suitable extracts from the Repository, it would diffuse much information, of which the great body of the people are ignorant.—The Society is gaining ground rapidly in this state. I calculate that there will be greater exertions made for its benefit, the coming fourth of July, than at any former period. There is nothing wanting but information. I am well persuaded, that the Society will rank first after the Bible Society.

*From a Gentleman in Massachusetts.*

The Colonization Society appears to be gaining in the affections and solicitude of many in our beloved country, especially

in this section of it. I view it as the instrument in the hand of a kind Providence, of restoring lost liberty to the African, and honour and glory to this land of freedom. With these views, I send you my mite, (\$5) for this benevolent and highly praiseworthy object. It is near my heart; and had I the ability, I would freely give one hundred times the amount.

*From a Gentleman in Maine.*

On the Fourth of July last, in this town, or rather township, we celebrated the Anniversary of American Independence, by forming a Bible Society, and a Peace Society, auxiliary to the American Colonization Society. It was my intention to communicate this information sooner, but a press of other concerns has prevented me. Nor did I wish to send an empty letter, but meant that my first letter to you, should contain the first fruits of our offerings. I, therefore, postponed writing, hoping to see you, on my visit to the South last winter. In this I was disappointed, as I went no further than Philadelphia; and I embrace the first leisure moment, after my return here, to write to you, not knowing when I shall have another opportunity.

I do not expect great pecuniary contributions from my townsmen, who, generally speaking, are not able to do much in this way, and who have been taxed by their liberality, to the utmost of their ability—for I was happy to hear on my return, that the Bible Society had actually supplied every destitute family in town with a Bible. As soon, however, as the travelling shall be good, I will endeavour to see what can be done for your Society, so that by the next Anniversary, I hope to be able to make a remittance. But we have done something. In a scheme, the success of which, depends upon public opinion, as in fact, all benevolent schemes of a public nature do, the gaining of one convert is doing something. I have endeavoured to give the African Repository a wide circulation, by placing it among the tracts of our Peace Society.

I have no doubt that all the benevolent exertions of the day, like strands in a rope, mutually strengthen each other. They all tend to the same great cause—peace on earth, and good will to man. The greatest obstacles which lie in the way of benevolent enterprises, is a spirit of selfishness. In condemning as

mischievous or impracticable, any benevolent scheme, a man finds a plausible excuse for his own covetousness. Yet mankind are willing to sacrifice immense sums, on their own personal gratification. For my own part, I cannot endure this selfish, fearful, distrustful spirit. I am convinced, that there is no moral difficulty which will not yield to zeal and perseverance—and that every thing which ought to be done can be done.

In order to secure the peace and liberty of all mankind, the two leading passions of the human heart, pride and avarice, must be subdued. This would be a hopeless task, were not the two passions, in many cases, opposed to each other, and we are willing sometimes, to sacrifice one to the other.

The time must assuredly come, when the people of this country will be willing to be taxed to rid ourselves of the opprobrium under which we now suffer; which it is as much the interest as it is the duty of the country at large to accelerate. But I would by no means, have a hair of the constitution touched for this purpose. Nothing should be done by law, without the full consent of the slave-holding states, which it is as much their interest as it is their duty to give. And we have reason to be thankful that God has so kindly united our interest with our duty, that they are in the long run inseparably connected. The command to do to others, as we would that others should do to us, increases the happiness of all who make it the rule of their conduct.

*From a Gentleman in the State of New York.*

I have read the March number of the Repository, with much interest. The steady, unwearied, and dignified devotion, and the judicious, intelligent, firm administration of Mr. Ashmun, command my admiration, my warm interest in his prosperity, and my prayers for the preservation of his valuable life. Should he come to this country, and to this place, I hope you will not fail to give me an opportunity of knowing him face to face. I rejoice in all your prosperity and encouragement, particularly in the late Vermont donation, and the enlarged liberality of G. Smith, Esq. I trust the co-partners in the liberal plan, will increase, and that rapidly.

## Mr. Burr's Legacies.

It appears from a statement of the legacies of this gentleman in the last Vermont Chronicle, made by two of his executors, that the account which has gone the rounds of the papers is not entirely accurate. The following is official:

To the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, ..	\$17,000
American Bible Society, .....	15,000
American Home Missionary Society, .....	10,000
American Tract Society, .....	5,000
* American Colonization Society, .....	5,000
Vermont Domestic Missionary Society, .....	5,000
North West Branch of American Education Society, .....	3,000
Middlebury College, .....	12,200
Dartmouth College, .....	1,000
Williams College, .....	1,000
Congregational Society in Manchester, .....	5,000
Also, a lot of land worth .....	400
To Trustees, to support a public Seminary of Learning in Manchester, (a permanent fund,) .....	10,000
To constitute Rev. William Jackson and Rev. Abraham Bronson, life directors of the American Bible Society, .....	300
To Baptist Clergymen in Manchester, .....	300
To purchase a farm for the support of the poor in Manchester, ....	1,200
Making a total of, .....	\$91,400

Besides several smaller legacies. A large amount of property was also given to the relatives and other friends of the deceased.—[*N. Y. Observer*.



## The Fourth of July.

Whether a single expedition shall sail for Liberia the present season, must depend upon the amount, which shall within three or four months be contributed to the funds of our Society. We make our appeal, then, to *every Minister* and to *every Church in the United States*, and entreat them, on the approaching Anniversary of our National Independence, or on some Sabbath near

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\* There is little hope that this generous bequest can be realized until after several months.



to that day, to consider the claims of that cause which it has been our endeavour to promote, and to aid it by their prayers and their charities. What could be more appropriate; more honourable; more religious; than, for all the congregations in our land to unite at such a season, in testifying their gratitude to Heaven for our political independence, and the benefits of our free institutions, by offering their aid to those who are leaving us to seek similar blessings on a distant shore—who are leaving us to instruct the wretched tribes of Africa in the arts of civilization, the knowledge of human rights, and the blessed doctrines of Christ. We hope that every editor who wishes success to that cause, which it is our duty and privilege to recommend, will bring this subject distinctly before the eyes of the public.



### **To Auxiliary Societies and our Friends.**

It is now the season when every possible effort is required from those who regard our cause with affection, to augment the funds of the Society. The outfit of expeditions late in the year, has in times past, we think, proved unfortunate; and we trust that in future, all will leave our shores before the end of November. Permit us then to hope, that every Auxiliary Society will shortly send in its annual contribution, and that whatever individual friends can do for us, will be done with their might. To animate us, there is every thing; to discourage us, nothing. No Colony, we believe, has ever in the same period, attained to an equal degree of importance. A light kindled by humanity and religion within the precincts of cruelty and darkness, many hearts have already felt its softening influence; it has excited the admiration of barbarians, while it has shown itself a warning beacon to the enemies of mankind. Let us then prosecute with increased ardour and energy, the great work in which we are engaged. Forget not, that influence as well as knowledge, is power; that for the use we may make of both, we are responsible to heaven; and that the ability to do good, which results from both, can only be measured by experience.

## Captain Nicholson's Testimony.

Capt. Nicholson, of the U. S. Navy, very lately from Liberia, makes the most favourable representations in a letter to Mr. Clay. The state of society is so inviting that eight of his crew, free coloured mechanics, obtained permission to remain.—The following is an extract from Capt. N's. letter. "The importance of this Colony, as regards the native tribes of the coast, is, in my estimation, great. They already begin to perceive that it is civilization and the blessings of religion, which give superiority to man over his fellow man. They had supposed it was the white skin; but now they see in their neighbourhood, men of their own colour, enjoying all those advantages hitherto deemed peculiar to the former. This has elicited a spirit of inquiry, which must tend to their benefit. The philanthropist may anticipate the day when our language and religion will spread over this now benighted land. The slave trade will cease as the Colony progresses, and extends its settlements. The very spot where now exists a free people, was a depot for the reception of manacled slaves. This fact alone is entitled to consideration, and ought to arouse the zeal of the friends of humanity every where."

[*Boston Recorder.*

## The Great Object Promoted.

Yet, great as it is, we will not despair of its accomplishment. So important is this object, and so easily might it be effected, if our friends who are blessed with wealth could be induced seriously to *reflect* upon it, and act as we have no doubt they would be inclined to do, after serious consideration; that we cannot but hope shortly to receive other subscriptions, as gratifying and liberal as that which we now record.

DEAR SIR: Please add my name to the list of subscribers under the proposition of Gerrit Smith, Esq.; as, in conformity thereto, I hereby agree to pay one hundred dollars a year, for ten years, to the American Colonization Society; provided, one hundred persons agree to do the same.

Very respectfully, Your Obedient Servant,

JOHN T. NORTON.

REV. R. R. GURLEY, *City of Washington.*

## Contributions

*To the A. C. Society, from 1st to 30th May, 1828.*

From Rev. Samuel Ellis, for collections by him in Virginia, as follows, viz:		
Colonel Jacob Vanmeter, of Fort Pleasant, Oldfield, Hardy County, .....	\$5	
Isaac Vanmeter, Esq. of do. do. do. ....	5	
Sundry persons, .....	6 10	
		16 10
Auxiliary Society, New Jersey, per R. Voorhees, Esq. Tr. ....	100	
Do. Charleston, Va. per W. Brown, Esq. Tr. ....	32 70	
Thos. Hastings, Esq. Utica, New York, collections by him, .....	154 70	
Simon Cronisc, Esq. Frederick County, Md. for collections as follows, viz:		
By Rev. Mr. Greer, in Pine Creek Church, .....	15 50	
By Do. in Thomas Creek Church, .....	12 13	
By Rev. David Bossler, in German Reformed Church, Emmetsburg, Pa. ....	3 45	
		31 08
Auxiliary Society, Alexandria, per C. Page, Esq. Tr. ....	100	
Collection in Presbyterian Congregation, Lewistown, and Paymborough, Mifflin County, Penn. Rev. J. S. Foods, through Hon. Bushrod Washington, .....	5	
Collections by Grove Wright, agent of the Society in New York, per Rev. Mr. Gurley, .....	22 76	
From I. J. Roberts, Esq. Edgefield, S. C. ....	1 00	
Luther Bailey, Esq. Medway, Ms. ....	5 00	
Rev. A. Hemphill, York, Pa. ....	3 00	
A Friend to the cause, per Hon. Mr. Whipple, ..	8 00	
Manumission and Emigration Society, Loudon Co. Va. per B. F. Taylor, Esq. ....	21 25	
Peabody Society, of Minot, Me. per W. Ladd, Esq. ....	10 00	
Rev. John Schermerhorn, Utica, New York, ...	15 00	
Collection at Canaan, Columbia Co. New York, ...	6 12½	
J. B. Lawrence, Esq. Salem, Ms. ....	6 00	
Collection Presbyterian Congregation, Wooster, Ohio, per Hon. John Sloane, .....	5 00	
Repository, ...	26 00	
		106 37½
		<u>\$568 70½</u>

THE  
**AFRICAN REPOSITORY,**  
AND  
**COLONIAL JOURNAL.**

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VOL. IV.

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**Review**

*Of Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee, with a Statistical account of that Kingdom, and Geographical Notices of other parts of the Interior of Africa.* By EDWARD BOWDICH, Esq., Conductor. London, 1819.

(CONTINUED FROM p. 72.)

AMONG all the great and beneficial consequences, which may be anticipated from the establishment of Christian Colonies on the African Coast, perhaps none is more cheering than the introduction of our holy religion, to supersede the absurd and relentless superstitions, to which the population of Africa has been so long subjected. For the honour of humanity, we should hope, that in no part of Africa were the superstitions more odious and cruel, than in Ashantee; but of the tribes far in the interior, we know comparatively little, and the information which has reached us, is certainly of no favourable character. We except in this remark the followers of Mahomet, who are known to occupy large territories, and who from the extent of their trade, and their intercourse with other nations, and perhaps, from the doctrines of their Prophet, have attained to a degree of elevation above the great mass of the negro tribes. But Mahomedanism though in

some respects less appalling in its effects, will, we believe, be displaced with more difficulty by the Gospel, than the revolting superstitions which inflict their curses upon the immense population, who know little or nothing of the Koran. The former is a written system, sustained by the power of a disciplined and crafty priesthood, teaching doctrines adapted to enlist in its behalf many of the deepest and strongest passions of the heart: the latter are vague and traditionary, poorly compensating for their terrors in this life, by any hopes of another; shadowy and unsubstantial, filling the imagination with horrors, but leaving the understanding in midnight darkness. How gratifying to think, that the disciples of our own pure faith have fixed their habitations upon the shores of Africa, that the influence of their principles and their example must rapidly extend itself into the interior; that from them shall go forth light and truth to make this moral wilderness like Eden, this desert like the garden of God.

The Ashantees may emphatically be said to be led captive by Satan at his will. Their worship (if such it can be called) is demoniacal, and their rites are celebrated with the blood of human victims. Indeed, when perusing the account of their religious ceremonies, no one, it would seem, could doubt the reality of satanic influence.

The Negro tradition of the Book and the Calabash cited by St. Pierre, (says Mr. Bowdich) is familiar to every native of these parts, and seems the source of their religious opinions.—The following is the Ashantee manner of relating it.

"In the beginning of the world, God created three white and three black men, with the same manner of women; he resolved, that they might not afterwards complain, to give them their choice of good and evil. A large box or calabash was set on the ground, with a piece of paper sealed up, on one side of it. God gave the black men the first choice, who took the box, expecting it contained every thing; but on opening it, there appeared only a piece of gold, a piece of iron, and several other metals, of which they did not know the use. The white men opening the paper, it told them every thing. God left the blacks in the bush, but conducted the whites to the water side, (for this happened in Africa) communicated with them every night, and taught them to build a small ship, which carried them to another country, whence they returned after a long period, with various merchandise to barter with the blacks, who might have been the superior people.

"With this imaginary alienation from the God of the Universe, not a shade

of despondency is associated; they consider that it diminishes their comforts and endowments on earth, but that futurity is a dull and torpid state to the majority of mankind."

The Ashantees believe in Fetishes or subordinate Deities, inhabiting particular rivers or mountains, and these are venerated in proportion to the actual fulfilment of their equivocal predictions. The favourite Fetish is at present the river Tando. The kings and higher classes are believed to dwell with the superior Deity after death, in a state resembling their condition on earth; hence, at the death of such, many of both sexes are sacrificed, that they may accompany the deceased and minister to their pleasures. The inferior classes are supposed to inhabit after death the houses of the Fetish, in a state of torpor and inactivity. Those who neglect the funeral rites of their family, are believed to be accursed by their spirits.

There are two orders of Fetishmen; the higher, who attend upon the Fetish and receive his oracles—the lower, who mingle in society, and are often consulted as fortunetellers and conjurers. There are domestic Fetishes in every family, answering to the Penates of the Romans. These receive offerings at the Yam Custom, but are not brought out of the house.

"The Ashantees have their Fasti and Nefasti; or lucky and unlucky days, as the Romans had."\* When they drink, they spill a little of the liquor on the ground as an offering to the Fetish. But the influence which the Moors exert over these people and other tribes, is perhaps, the most surprising.

"The confidence of the Ashantees in the fetishes or saphies they purchase so extravagantly from the Moors, is such, that they believe firmly that they make them invulnerable and invincible in war, paralyse the hand of the enemy, shiver their weapons, divert the course of balls, and avert all evils but sickness, (which they can only assuage,) and natural death. The King gave to the King of Dagwumba, for the fetish or war-coat of Apokoo, the value of thirty slaves; for Odumata's, twenty; for Adoo Quamina's, thirteen; for Akimpon's, twelve; for Akimponten's nine; and for those of greater captains in proportion. The generals being always in the rear of the army are pretty sure to escape, a circumstance much in favour of the Moors. A sheet of paper would support an inferior Moor in Coomassie for a month.†

\* Ille et nefasto te posuit die. *Hor.* 12, 13.

† The saphies consist of pieces of paper upon which the Moors have written, and which they incase in leather, gold, or silver.

Several of the Ashantee captains offered seriously to let us fire at them.—The Ashantees believe that the constant prayers of the Moors, who have persuaded them that they converse with the Deity, invigorate themselves and waste the spirit and strength of their enemies."

The Yam Custom (says Mr. Bowdich) is annual, just at the maturity of that vegetable, in the early part of September. "It is like the Saturnalia; neither theft, intrigue, nor assault are punishable during the continuance; but the grossest liberty prevails, and each sex abandons itself to its passions. All the Caboceers are commanded to attend, and if any one has given offence, it is at this time that his accusation is generally made known. The show, riot, and confusion of this occasion, are thus described by Mr. Bowdich.

"On Friday the 5th of September, the number, splendour, and variety of arrivals, thronging from the different paths, was as astonishing as entertaining; but there was an alloy in the gratification, for the principal caboceers sacrificed a slave at each quarter of the town, on their entré.

"In the afternoon of Saturday, the King received all the caboceers and captains in the large area, where the Dankara canons are placed. The scene was marked with all the splendour of our own entré, and many additional novelties. The crush in the distance was awful and distressing. All the heads of the kings and caboceers whose kingdoms had been conquered, from Saï Tootoo to the present reign, with those of the chiefs who had been executed for subsequent revolts, were displayed by two parties of executioners, each upwards of a hundred, who passed in an impassioned dance, some with the most irresistible grimace, some with the most frightful gesture: they clashed their knives on the skulls, in which sprigs of thyme were inserted, to keep the spirits from troubling the King. I never felt so grateful for being born in a civilized country. Firing and drinking palm wine were the only divertissemens to the ceremony of the caboceers presenting themselves to the King; they were announced, and passed all round the circle, saluting every umbrella: their bands preceded; we reckoned above forty drums in that of the King of Dwabin. The effect of the splendour, the tumult, and the musketry, was afterwards heightened by torch light.—We left the ground at 10 o'clock; the umbrellas were crowded even in the distant streets, the town was covered like a large fair, the broken sounds of distant horns and drums filled up the momentary pauses of the firing which encircled us: the uproar continued until four in the morning, just before which the King retired.

"The next morning the King ordered a large quantity of rum to be poured into brass pans, in various parts of the town; the crowd pressing around,

and drinking like hogs; freemen and slaves, women and children, striking, kicking, and trampling each other under foot, pushed head foremost into the pans, and spilling much more than they drank. In less than an hour, excepting the principal men, not a sober person was to be seen, parties of four reeling and rolling under the weight of another, whom they affected to be carrying home; strings of women covered with red paint, hand in hand, falling down like rows of cards; the commonest mechanics and slaves furiously declaiming on state palavers; the most discordant music, the most obscene songs, children of both sexes prostrate in insensibility. All wore their handsomest clothes, which they trailed after them to a great length, in a drunken emulation of extravagance and dirtiness.

"About a hundred persons, mostly culprits reserved, are generally sacrificed, in different quarters of the town, at this custom. Several slaves were also sacrificed at Bantama, over the large brass pan, their blood mingling with the various vegetable and animal matter within, (fresh and putrefied,) to complete the charm, and produce invincible fetish. All the chiefs kill several slaves, that their blood may flow into the hole from whence the new yam is taken. Those who cannot afford to kill slaves, take the head of one already sacrificed and place it on the hole."\*

There is another national custom called the Adaï, which commences on the first of October. "This is supposed by the common people to be marked by the falling of a fruit like a gourd, from a tree called Brebretim. They further pretend, that from the fruit of this tree spring various kinds of vegetables. The customs are alternately called the great and little Adaï, the former taking place always on Sunday, the latter on Wednesday; and it appeared, that there were six weeks between each great Adaï, and six between each little one; so that the custom was generally held every twenty-one days." The proceedings at these, appear to resemble in many respects, those of the Yam Custom.

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\* In Ahanta, at the Contoom or Harvest custom, each family erects its rude altar, composed of four sticks driven in the ground, and twigs laid across the top; the whole is then covered with fresh pulled leaves. A hog, a sheep, a goat, or a fowl is killed, according to the means of the family, and the most delicate parts laid on the altar; a mixture is made of eggs, palm oil, palm wine, the blood of the animal slain, and other ingredients, and also dedicated to the Fetish, in small pots placed on the altar. In a few days these altars become so offensive as to render it disagreeable to pass them, but they are never removed."



Mention has been made already of *human sacrifices*. These are frequent, but most numerous on the decease, and at the funerals of distinguished individuals. On the death of a person of wealth or rank, a discharge of musketry announces the fact, and "in an instant you see a crowd of slaves burst from the house and run towards the bush, flattering themselves that the hindmost, or those surprised in the house, will furnish the human victims for sacrifice, if they can but secrete themselves until the custom is over." As soon as the body is dressed out in silk and gold, one or two slaves are then sacrificed at the door of the house. Mr. Bowdich describes particularly what he witnessed at the decease of Quatchie Quofie's mother, whose funeral ceremonies he concludes, were less splendid and barbarous than common.

"The King, Quatchie Quofie, and Odumata, each sacrificed a young girl directly the deceased had breathed her last, that she might not want for attendants until the greater sacrifice was made. The retainers, adherents, and friends of the family then sent contributions of gold, powder, rum, and cloth, to be expended at the custom; the King, as heir, exceeding every quota but that of the nearest relative, who succeeded to the stool and slaves. The King also sent a sum of gold, and some rich cloths to be buried with the deceased, in the basket or coffin. I could not learn the various sums of gold dust with sufficient accuracy to note them, but the following were the quantities of powder presented on the occasion."

Here follows a statement of forty-four ounces of gold, or nearly twelve barrels; which were presented to different persons.

"We walked to Assafoo about twelve o'clock; the vultures were hovering around two headless trunks, scarcely cold. Several troops of women, from fifty to a hundred in each, were dancing by in movements resembling skating, lauding and bewailing the deceased in the most dismal, yet not discordant strains; audible, from the vast number, at a considerable distance. Other troops carried the rich cloths and silks of the deceased on their heads, in shining brass pans, twisted and stuffed into crosses, cones, globes, and a fanciful variety of shapes only to be imagined, and imposing at a small distance the appearance of rude deities. The faces, arms, and breasts of these women were profusely daubed with red earth, in horrid emulation of those who had succeeded in besmearing themselves with the blood of the victims. The crowd was overbearing; horns, drums, and muskets, yells, groans, and screeches invaded our hearing with as many horrors as were crowded on our sight. Now and then a victim was hurried by, generally dragged or

run along at full speed; the uncouth dress, and the exulting countenances of those who surrounded him, likening them to as many fiends. I observed apathy, more frequently than despair or emotion, in the looks of the victims. The chiefs and captains were arriving in all directions, announced by the firing of muskets, and the peculiar flourishes of their horns, many of which were by this time familiar to us; they were then habited plainly as warriors, and were soon lost to our sight in the crowd. As old Odumata passed in his hammock, he bade us observe him well when he passed again: this prepared us in a small degree. Presently the King's arrival in the market place was announced, the crowd rolled towards it impetuously, but the soldiery hacked on all sides indiscriminately, and formed a passage for the procession. Quatchie Quofie hurried by, plunging from side to side like a Bacchanal, drunk with the adulation of his bellowing supporters; his attitudes were responsive to the horror and barbarism of the exultations which inspired them. The victims, with large knives driven through their cheeks, eyed him with indifference; he them with a savage joy, bordering on phrenzy: insults were aggravated on the one, flattery lavished on the other. One Dagust was beguiled for an instant by surprise. The chiefs who had just before passed us in their swarthy cloths, and the dark gloomy habits of war, now followed Quatchie Quofie, glistening in all the splendor of their fetish dresses; the sprightly variety of their movements ill accorded with the ceremony. Old Odumata's vest was covered with fetish, cased invariably in gold or silver. A variety of extraordinary ornament and novel insignia, courted and reflected the sun in every direction. It was like a splendid pantomime after a Gothic tragedy.

"We followed to the market place. The King, and the chiefs not immediately connected with Quatchie Quofie, were seated under their canopies, with the usual insignia and retinue, and lined about the half of a circle, apparently half a mile in circumference; the soldiery completed it, their respective chiefs situated amongst them. Thirteen victims, surrounded by their executioners, whose black shaggy caps and vests gave them the appearance of bears rather than men, were pressed together by the crowd to the left of the King. The troops of women, before described, paraded without the circle, vociferating the dirge. Rum and palm wine were flowing copiously, horns and drums were exerted even to frenzy. In an instant there was a burst of musketry near the King, and it spread and continued incessantly, around the circle, for upwards of an hour. The soldiers kept their stations; but the chiefs, after firing, bounded once round the area with the gesture and extravagance of madmen; their panting followers enveloping them in flags, occasionally firing in all the attitudes of a scaramouch, and incessantly bellowing the strong names of their exulting chief, whose musket they snatched from his hands directly he had fired. An old hag, described as the head fetish woman of the family, screamed and plunged about in the midst of the fire as if in the greatest agonies. The greater the

chief the heavier the charge of powder he is allowed to fire; the heaviest charge recollected, was that fired by the King on the death of his sister, 18 ackies, or an ounce avoirdupoise. Their blunderbusses and long guns were almost all braced closely with the cordage of the country; they were generally supported by their attendants whilst they fired, several did not appear to recover it for nearly a minute; Odumata's old frame seemed shaken almost to dissolution. Many made a point of collecting near us, just within the circle, and firing as close as possible to startle us; the frequent bursting of their muskets made this rather alarming as well as disagreeable. The firing abated, they drank freely from the bowls of palm wine, religiously pouring a small quantity on the ground before they raised them to their lips.

"The principal females of the family, many of them very handsome, and of elegant figures, came forward to dance; dressed, generally, in yellow silk, with a silver knife hung by a chain round their necks; one with a gold, another with a silver horn; a few were dressed as fetish women; an umbrella was held over the grand daughter as she danced. The Ashantees dance incomparably better than the people of the water side, indeed elegantly; the sexes do not dance separately, as in Fantee, but the man encircles the woman with a piece of silk which he generally flirts in his right hand, supports her round the waist, receives her elbows in the palms of his hands, and a variety of figures approximating, with the time and movement, very closely to the waltz.

"A dash of sheep and rum was exchanged between the King and Quatchie Quofie; and the drums announced the sacrifice of the victims. All the chiefs first visited them in turn; I was not near enough to distinguish wherefore. The executioners wrangled and struggled for the office, and the indifference with which the first poor creature looked on, in the torture he was from the knife passed through his cheeks, was remarkable: the nearest executioner snatched the sword from the others, the right hand of the victim was then lopped off, he was thrown down, and his head was sawed rather than cut off; it was cruelly prolonged, I will not say wilfully.—Twelve more were dragged forward, but we forced our way through the crowd, and retired to our quarters. Other sacrifices, principally female, were made in the bush where the body was buried. It is usual to 'wet the grave' with the blood of a freeman of respectability. All the retainers of the family being present, and the heads of all the victims deposited in the bottom of the grave, several are unsuspectingly called on in a hurry to assist in placing the coffin or basket, and just as it rests on the heads or skulls, a slave from behind stuns one of these freemen by a violent blow, followed by a deep gash in the back part of the neck, and he is rolled in on the top of the body, and the grave instantly filled up. A sort of carnival, varied by firing, drinking, singing, and dancing, was kept up in Assafoo for several days; the chiefs generally visiting it every evening, or sending their lin-

guists with a dash of palm wine or rum to Quatchie Quofie; and I was given to understand, that, but for the approaching war and the necessary economy of powder, there would have been eight great customs, instead of one, for this woman; one weekly, the King himself firing at the last. The last day, all the females in any way connected with the family (who are not allowed to eat for three days after the death, though they may drink as much palm wine as they please,) paraded round the town, singing a compliment and thanks to all those who had assisted in making the custom.

"On the death of a King, all the Customs which have been made for the subjects who have died during his reign, must be simultaneously repeated by the families, (the human sacrifices as well as the carousals and pageantry) to amplify that for the monarch, which is also solemnised, independently, but at the same time, in every excess of extravagance and barbarity.—The brothers, sons, and nephews of the King, affecting temporary insanity, burst forth with their muskets, and fire promiscuously amongst the crowd; even a man of rank, if they meet him, is their victim; nor is their murder of him or any other, on such an occasion, visited or prevented; the scene can scarcely be imagined. Few persons of rank dare to stir from their houses for the first two or three days, but religiously drive forth all their vassals and slaves, as the most acceptable composition of their own absence. The King's Ocras, who will be mentioned presently, are all murdered on his tomb, to the number of a hundred or more, and women in abundance. I was assured by several, that the custom for Sai Quamina, was repeated weekly for three months, and that two hundred slaves were sacrificed, and twenty-five barrels of powder fired each time. But the custom for the King's mother, the regent of the kingdom during the invasion of Fantee, is most celebrated. *The King of himself devoted 3000 victims*, (upwards of 3000 of whom were Fantee prisoners) and twenty-five barrels of powder\* Dwabin, Kokoofoo, Becqua, Soota, and Marmpong, furnished one hundred victims, and twenty barrels of powder, each, and most of the smaller towns ten victims, and two barrels of powder, each. The Kings, and Kings only, are buried in the cemetery at Bantama, and the sacred gold buried with them; (see Laws;) their bones are afterwards deposited in a building there, opposite to which is the largest brass pan I ever saw; (for sacrifices,) being about five feet in diameter, with four small lions on the edge. Here human sacrifices are frequent and ordinary, to water the graves of the Kings. The bodies of chiefs are frequently carried about with the army, to keep them for interment at home, and eminent revolters or enemies also, to be exposed in the capital. Boiteim, (the father of Otee the fourth linguist,) who accompanied the army of Abimiowa in his political capacity, dying at

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\* "Suetonius tells us that Augustus sacrificed 300 of the principal citizens of Perusia, to the manes of his uncle Julius. We read in Prevost, that 44080 persons were sacrificed, with aggravated barbarity, in the dedication of a temple in Mexico."

Akrofrom in Aquapim, during the campaign, his body was kept with the army two months before it arrived at Coomassie. I could not get any information on their treatment of the corpse, beyond their invariable reply that they smoked it well over a slow fire."

(*To be continued.*)

## Theories respecting the Course and Termination of the Niger.

We have thought it might be interesting to our readers, to see some account of the various opinions which have been adopted, in reference to the course and termination of this mysterious river, and the statements upon which these theories have been founded. The following article is made up of extracts from the most valuable works on Africa.

The course and termination of this celebrated stream is now the most interesting problem which remains to be solved, not only in Africa, but in any other portion of the globe.

Herodotus,\* more than twenty-two centuries ago, describes, from the information of the Africans, a great river of Africa, far removed to the south of the Great Desert, and abounding with crocodiles. That it flowed from *west* to *east*, dividing *Africa*, in like manner as the Danube does *Europe*.

Pliny also believed that the *Nile* came from the west; but he is far from identifying it with the *Niger*, which he describes as a distinct river. But we have at least his negative opinion respecting its western course: for he speaks of the *Bambotus* river as running into the western ocean; meaning to express by it either the Gambia or Senegal river, and not the Niger.†

Ptolemy is positive in describing the Niger as a separate stream from the Senegal and Gambia, which two rivers are designed by him under the names of *Daradus* and *Stachir*; and they are by no means ill expressed; falling into the sea on different sides of the *Arsinarium* promontory, or Cape Verd.‡ The Niger of Ptolemy is made to extend from west to east, over half the breadth of Africa, between the Atlantic ocean, and the course of the Nile.

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\* Euterpe, c. 32.

† Lib. v. c. 9.

These may suffice for the ancient authorities, which in very early times fixed the course of the Niger in the systems of geography, to be *from west to east*. [*Major Rennell.*]

Pliny, however, enters into much greater detail in that extraordinary passage, where he traces the origin of the Nile, and its various transformations.\* First, he informs us, that it springs from a mountain in Lower Mauritania, and issues out of a stagnant Lake, called Niliis. Indignant, however, at flowing through rugged and sandy tracts, it hides itself under ground for several days, after which it issues anew from another lake in Mauritania Cæsariensis. Finding itself again among sands, it plunges a second time beneath them, and continues hid during the whole extent of a desert space of twenty days' journey. On reaching the country of the Ethiopians, it again emerges, and, as Ptolemy supposes, from the fountain Nigris; when, continuing to flow, it divides the Africans from the Ethiopians. In a subsequent part of its course, it assumes the name of Astapus, evidently the river of Nubia. In this succession of rivers, so fancifully united to form one Nile, it seems clear that the two first are streams of the Bled-el-Jereede; but in respect to the other, situated on the other side of an immense desert, and in the country of the Ethiopians, whom it separates from the Africans, there seem fair grounds for believing it to be the Niger itself. We then find Pliny to be the strenuous advocate for the ancient system, by which the Nile and the Niger were viewed merely as successive portions of the same great river.

Mela leans to the same opinion.† He describes very distinctly, to the south of Mauritania, the great desert, and beyond it the country of the Ethiopians. There rises the river Nuchul, on which he makes the striking remark, that, "while all others direct their course towards the ocean, this one flows towards the east, and the centre of the continent; and whither it goes is quite uncertain."

The next geographical system was that of the Arabians, in whose opinion, with regard to the course of this river, there is nothing dubious or equivocal. They all identify it with the

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\* Hist. Nat.

† Lib. iii. 9.

Nile, but only in its source and earliest course, borrowed apparently from Ptolemy. But they conceive that, at a particular point, this primary Nile separates into two branches, or Niles; of which one, the Nile of Egypt, flows northward through Nubia, and falls into the Mediterranean; the other, the Nile of the Negroes, takes its course westward, and traverses the vast range of central Africa. According to Abulfeda and Edrisi, the most eminent Arabian geographers, it continues to flow till it is received into the Atlantic, or "Sea of Darkness," as they term their supposed circumambient ocean.

Leo agrees with the Arabians in assigning a western course to the Niger, but he does not, like them, derive it from the Nile. It takes its rise, according to him, from a lake situated to the south of Bornou, probably the lake of Cauga, and thence flows westward, till it reaches the ocean. Leo, indeed, had heard it asserted, at Tombuctoo, that it rose in a mountain, flowed eastward, and fell into a lake; but this he asserts to be contradicted by his own actual observation of the navigation from Tombuctoo to Ginea (Jinnie).

The above observations of Leo entirely concurred with those which the Portuguese themselves had an opportunity of making.

The illustrious traveller, Park, finally ascertained, that the Niger was entirely distinct from any of the rivers which fell into the Atlantic; that it flowed eastward into the centre of the continent; and that to it belonged several hundred miles of the course which the best modern geographers had assigned to the Senegal. Upon these data, Major Rennell founded his theory of its course. It had been traced, indeed, by Park, only about 300 miles from its source; but concurrent testimonies, ancient and modern, established the existence of a continued stream, upwards of a thousand miles farther, to the extremity of Wangara. That country is described by the Arabian geographers as entirely surrounded and intersected by branches of the Niger, (Nile of the Negroes); as containing, at least, two lakes, and as entirely overflowed during the rainy season. Major Rennell, therefore, very plausibly inferred, that Wangara was the Delta of the Niger; that its waters, spread out by the separation of its branches, by inundation, and by the formation of lakes, might, under the burning rays of a tropical sun, be completely evaporated.

This view of the subject, supported by the learning and ingenuity of Major Rennel, became, for a long time, the orthodox creed with regard to Africa. M. Reichard, of Weimar, advanced another hypothesis; according to which, the stream passed through Wangara, and directing its course to the south-west, poured itself into the Gulf of Benin, by a succession of large estuaries, of which the mouths only are known to us.

The next hypothesis is that famous one by which the Niger is identified with the great stream which passes through the kingdom of Congo. The extraordinary magnitude of this last river,—the prodigious mass of waters which it pours into the ocean, whose waves it freshens to the distance of many leagues—its perpetual state of fullness, or rather flood, to which other tropical rivers are incident only during a few months of the year—the occurrence, at two seasons, instead of one, of a perceptible swelling of its waters—these circumstances are supposed to indicate a river, which not only drains a vast extent of country, but is fed by the rains of both the tropics. Both these conditions are fulfilled, by supposing it to be the hitherto unknown termination of the Niger.—[*Murray.*]

Mr. Murray, in the following extract, gives his own hypothesis.

The writer of this was led some time ago to form an hypothesis somewhat different from any of those above stated; and though his original confidence in it be somewhat abated, yet, as it may at least serve as a link to combine some curious notices relative to central Africa, he will venture on a short exposition of it.

Although the Niger, in Bambarra, carries with it to the east all the waters of central Africa, it cannot be doubted, that there is a tract on the other side of the continent, where these waters flow in an opposite direction. Without having recourse to ancient, or more doubtful authorities, we find Browne expressly stating, that all the rivers about and beyond Darfûr, were reported to him as flowing to the west and north-west. Some, the Kulla for instance, are so delineated, that they could scarcely continue to flow in that direction without meeting the Niger.—That a junction therefore takes place, at some point, of rivers from opposite sides of the continent, can scarcely be doubted.



Whether these rivers terminate there, or direct their united streams into the ocean, is a separate question. According to the general opinion, this union takes place in Wangara. There is, however, a considerable weight of testimony which goes to prove, that much farther west, and in passing through the kingdom of Cassina, the direction of the stream is still *westward*.—Abulfeda, Edrisi, and all the Arabian writers, without a single exception, are well known to have described their Nile of the Negroes as flowing from *east to west*. Now, as Gana was the centre of their settlements, and the main channel of communication with Northern Africa, it appears very improbable that they should be misinformed as to how the matter stood *there*. Nor is it improbable that their knowledge might terminate with this westward-flowing river, and might never reach the stream visited by Park.

From these testimonies, it appeared a probable supposition, that the long line of river course to which Europeans have applied the Roman name of Niger, (a name not known in modern Africa,) consists, in fact, of two rivers, flowing, one from the east, and the other from the west, and falling into some common receptacle. It is objected, indeed, that no such receptacle has ever been reported to exist. But the tract between Cassina and Tombuctoo is so entirely unknown, that it might very well contain the feature in question, without such a report having reached Europeans. Moreover, it may be observed, that the most recent travellers actually report the existence of a great lake, or inland sea, in this quarter. Jackson particularly describes an immense lake called the Sea of Soudan, situated about fifteen days' journey to the east of Tombuctoo. Park also heard at Sansanding of a lake, called the Ba Sea Feena, incomparably larger than the Dibble, at about a month's distance from that place; which would nearly agree with the measure of Jackson.\*

[*From Bowdich's Mission to Ashantee.*]

Having reached the Niger, it is time to observe, that it is only

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\* His expressions are, "One month's journey south of Baedoo, through the kingdom of Gotto, will bring the traveller to the country of the Christians who have their houses on the banks of the Ba Sea Feena; this water

known to the Moors by the name of Quolla, pronounced Quorra by the negroes, who, from whatever countries they came, all spoke of this as the largest river they knew; and it was the grand feature in all routes whether from Haoussa, Bornou, or the intermediate countries,) to Ashantee. The Niger, after leaving the lake Dibir, was invariably described as dividing in two large streams; the Quolla, the greater pursuing its course south-eastward, until it joined the Baher Abiad, and the other branch running northward of east, near Tombuctoo, and dividing again soon afterwards; the smaller stream running northwards by Yahooodee,\* a place of great trade, and the larger turning directly eastward, and increasing considerably, running to the lake Caudi or Cadi, under the name of Gambaroo. The Moors call the branch running by Tombuctoo the Jolliba, I presume figuratively, as a great water; for I was assured by a native of Jennie, who had frequently visited Tombuctoo, that this branch was called Zahmer by the negroes. De Lisle, in his map of Africa, for the use of Louis XV, makes a branch from the Niger, running near Tombuctoo, and, what is even more to the point, writes "Gambarou ou Niger." Mr. Park, in his memoir to Lord Camden, writes, "the river of Dar Kulla, men-

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"they describe as incomparably larger than the Dibble, and that it flows "sometimes one way, and sometimes another."

To conceal nothing, I cannot help entertaining some suspicion that this report may have referred to the sea in the Gulf of Guinea, though it certainly was not so understood by Park. The southern direction, the coast of the Christians, the decked vessels, and the motion one way and another (tides), all tend to suggest this idea. To this may be added the etymology of the word *Ba Sea Feena*, which was obligingly furnished to me by Mr. Jackson, who states it to signify the "Sea of Ships." I even used the freedom to ask Mr. Jackson, if he considered it certain, that his Bahar Soudan might not also be the Gulf of Guinea? Mr. Jackson observed in reply, that the Gulf of Guinea was universally called by the Arabs, *El Bahar Ginawa*, that neither the distance nor direction agreed; and that the Arabs, who pray daily with their faces turned towards the east, can scarcely blunder as to this last point. He is also of opinion; that Park's *Ba Sea Feena* must be the same with the Sea of Soudan.

\* The Moors particularly mentioned buying their writing paper there.

tioned by Mr. Brown, is generally supposed to be the Niger, or, at least, to have a communication with that river." The name and course of the Quolla suggested this to me, before I observed the above remark, which I did not until my return.

The Gambaroo seems to me to identify the Gir of Ptolemy,\* carried by him into the centre of Africa, and which would appear as large as the Niger, by the expression "Maximi suet Gir et Nigir."

It was an inconsiderate observation of Mr. Maxwell's, "If the Niger has a sensible outlet, I have no doubt of its proving the Congo, knowing all the rivers between Cape Palmas and Cape Lopez, to be inadequate to the purpose." The Volta may be thought so, but the Lagos certainly cannot, nor the Danger or Gaboon; and surely the rivers del Rey and Formoso are not, which are thus noticed within a few pages of Mr. Maxwell's observation, by the judicious editor of Mr. Park's last mission. "The Rio del Rey and the Formoso are stated to be of considerable size, being each of them seven or eight miles at the mouth; and the supposed Delta, estimated by the line of coast, is much larger than that of the Ganges; consequently, the two streams, if united, must form a river of prodigious magnitude."

[*Idem.*]

In his sketch of Gaboon, Mr. Bowdich has many very interesting remarks on the Congo hypothesis. He submits the compilation of seven weeks' investigation and inquiry, under very advantageous circumstances. The result was, that he heard of a kingdom far in the interior, through which, the river Wola or Wole, flows and runs eastward. "My friend, the Governor," he observes, "impressed on me, that this was the largest river in the world, and ran, to use his own words, for aught he knew, farther than Indie; all the great rivers in this country come from Wole."

"The name, situation, magnitude, and course of the Wola,

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\* Illorum vero qui per interiorem Æthiopiam fluant, quique fontes et ostia in continente habent maximi sunt Gir et Nigir. (Lib. xxiii. 1. De maximis fluminibus.)

leave little doubt of its being the Kulla or Quolla. "With this, the Ogoowai, which enters the sea near Cape Lopez, forms a junction, or rather flows from it. At Adjoomla, no great distance from the coast, the Ogoowai is represented as dividing itself, and one arm running south to fall into the Congo, which, without it, would be an *inconsiderable stream*."—[*Idem*.]

[*Extract from Capt. Riley.*]

Sidi Hamet, whose report is given by Capt. Riley, travelled from Tombuctoo, a little south of east, when he came to a small town, called Bimbina, walled in with canes and thorn bushes; here the river turned more to the south-eastward, because there was a very high mountain in sight to the eastward. "We then went from the river side, and pursued our journey more southwardly, fifteen days, when we came to the same river again. Then we went onward again in about a south-east direction, winding as the river ran for three days, and then had to climb over a very high ridge of mountains, which took up six days, and when we were on the top of them, we could see a large chain of high mountains to the westward. Those were thickly covered with very large trees, and it was extremely difficult to get up and down them, but we could not go any other way, for the river ran against the steep side of the mountain; so having gotten over them, we came to the river's bank again, where it was very narrow and full of rocks, that dashed the water dreadfully, then finding a good path, we travelled the same way for 12 days, afterwards again 15 days, when we came to the walls of the city Wassanah," &c.—[*Riley's Narrative*.]

In Mandara, (latitude ten degrees north) Major Denham saw a man who said he had been twenty days south of Mandara, to a country called Adamowa; which he described as being situated in the centre of a plain, surrounded by mountains ten times higher than any we could see.—"This man spoke of several extensive lakes, which he had seen in his journey, and also described with great clearness a river running between two very high ridges of the mountains, which he crossed previous to arriving at Adamowa."

This river he declared to run from the west, and to be the same as the Quolla or Quana at Nyffe, Kora, and at Raka, but not the same as the river at Kano, which had nothing to do with the Shary, and which ran into the Tchad; but the main body of

the water ran on to the south of Begharmi, was then called the D'Ago, and went eastward to the Nile. Kaid-Moussa was a very intelligent fellow, had visited Nyffe, Raka, Waday, and Darfur; by which latter place also, he said this river passed.—He was most particularly clear in all his accounts, and his statement agreed in some points with the information a Shouaa named Dreess-boo-Raas-ben-aboo-Dcleel had given me; therefore I was the more inclined to pay attention to it. To the south of this river, the population is entirely Kerdy, until the Great Desert. This desert is passed several times in the year by kafilas with white people, not Christians, who bring goods from the great sea: some of these reach Adamowa.

From Mahomad Gomsoo, Chief of the Arabs, at Sackatoo, (lat.  $13^{\circ} 4' 52''$  N., and long  $6^{\circ} 12' E.$ ) Captain Clapperton received the following account. This man, if we are to credit his own statement, was at Tombuctoo when Park was murdered.

I learned, besides, from Gomsoo, that he had been detained a prisoner three years, in a country called Yoriba, on the west side of the Quarra; which, he said, entered the sea at Fundah, a little below the town of Rakah. The latter is opposite to Nyffee; is a place of great trade between the interior and the coast, and all kinds of European goods, such as beads, woollen and cotton cloth, pewter and copper dishes, gunpowder, rum, &c., are to be had there in exchange for slaves. The inhabitants of Yoriba he represented to be extremely ill disposed. I may here mention, that during my stay in Sackatoo, provisions were regularly sent me from the sultan's table on pewter dishes, with the London stamp; and one day I even had a piece of meat served up in a white wash-hand basin, of English manufacture.

Bello, also sultan of Sackatoo, drew on the sand the course of the river Quarra, which he also informed me entered the sea at Fundah. By his account the river ran parallel to the sea coast for several days' journey, being in some places only a few hours', in others a day's journey, distant from it. Two or three years ago the sea, he said, closed up the mouth of the river, and its mouth was at present a day or two farther south; but, during the rains, when the river was high, it still ran into the sea by the old channel. He asked me if the King of England would send him

a consul and a physician, to reside in Soudan, and merchants to trade with his people; and what I had seen among them, which I thought the English would buy? Here again I enforced the discontinuance of the slave trade on the coast, as the only effectual method of inducing the King of England to establish a consul and a physician at Sackatoo; and that, as the sultan could easily prevent all slaves from the eastward passing through Haussa and Nyffee, it would be the consul's duty to see that engagement faithfully fulfilled. With respect to what English merchants were disposed to buy, I particularized senna, gum arabic, bees' wax, untanned hides, indigo, and ivory. I also endeavoured to impress on his mind that Soudan was the country best situate in all Central Africa for such a trade, which would not only be the means of enriching himself, but, likewise, all his subjects; and that all the merchandise from the east and from the west would be conveyed through his territories to the sea. "I will give the King of England," says he, "a place on the coast to build a town: only I wish a road to be cut to Rakah,\* if vessels should not be able to navigate the river." I asked him if the country he promised to give belonged to him? 'Yes:' said he, "God has given me all the land of the infidels." This was an answer that admitted of no contradiction.

The author of a Review of Denham and Clapperton, for our work, (vol. 2d, page 319,) observes, "From what we have been able to collect, we should conjecture, that the Niger must either discharge into the Ocean at the Bight of Benin, or through the wide mouth of the Congo, or into the Tchad, from the south, under the name of the Shary. That immense inland sea, has, probably, no outlet, unless it be during the rainy season, when it overflows; and if it have one, it must be at its western end, where, as Denham, who had examined its other shores, was told, there is the dry but elevated bed of a river. In those countries, where evaporation is so great, the sands so arid and thirsty, and the season so long in which there falls no rain, many of the rivers which are impetuous and full in winter, are perfectly dry

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\* On the map of Denham and Clapperton, Rakah is represented as in lat. N. about 9°, and long. E. 5°.

at other times. Clapperton looked from an eminence for several miles along the dry bed of one, which was two hundred yards wide, and whose banks were thirty or forty feet high. This waste of waters will account for the smallness of the Shary, if we suppose that river to be the Niger. At its mouth it is about half a mile wide, deep, and flowing with a rapid current, even in the dry season; and discharges as great a body of water, perhaps, as the Niger could have preserved, during its long course of 2000 miles, from the absorption and evaporation to which it would be subjected."



## **An Address to the Public,**

*By the Managers of the Colonization Society of Connecticut.*

The Managers of this Society, at their recent Anniversary, submitted in place of their first Annual Report, this able Address, which we understand has been widely circulated in that state, and which, we sincerely wish, may be republished in every state of the Union. The spirit of liberality and candour, and the convincing argument and eloquence which pervade it throughout, must recommend it to the notice of all those whose good opinion merits regard. But we proceed, without further preface, to offer to our readers, liberal extracts from this Address.

### **FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS,**

In behalf of the Colonization Society of the State of Connecticut, we beg leave to address you on a subject intimately connected with the honour and the dearest interests of our common country, and identified with the great cause of human happiness.

You are often called upon to lend your influence to schemes of patriotic enterprise and Christian benevolence. The elastic spirit of our age has long been busy here, and has been moving you to effort. You have founded and are sustaining noble institutions of education. You have engaged in the work of sending the Scriptures into every family. You have long been contributing to impart the means of instruction to the ignorant and destitute. You have not held back from the enterprise of giving to Pagan tribes the blessed influences of the Gospel. The spirit which has prompted you to effort aims at doing good to all within its reach;—it finds none

too degraded for its beneficence, none too distant for its sympathy. It seeks to perpetuate and to brighten that bright legacy of character and of privileges which has come down to us from sainted ancestors. It seeks to scatter every where the seeds of social improvement and of spiritual life. It seems to forget none of the children of degradation, or of intellectual and moral want. To the Pagan and the Mahomedan—to the degraded and abject in our cities—to the inmates of the manufactories rising along the streams of our New England—to the settler on the prairies of the far South-west—to the boatmen of our mighty rivers—to the sailor on the ocean—and even to the pauper, and the convict, and the drunkard—it is directing its efforts.

But there is one large class among the inhabitants of this country—degraded and miserable—whom none of the efforts in which you are accustomed to engage, can materially benefit. Among the twelve millions who make up our census, two millions are Africans—separated from the possessors of the soil by birth, by the brand of indelible ignominy, by prejudices mutual, deep, incurable, by an irreconcilable diversity of interests. They are aliens and outcasts;—they are, as a body, degraded beneath the influence of nearly all the motives which prompt other men to enterprise, and almost below the sphere of virtuous affections. Whatever may be attempted for the general improvement of society, their wants are untouched.—Whatever may be effected for elevating the mass of the nation in the scale of happiness or of intellectual and moral character, their degradation is the same—dark, and deep, and hopeless. Benevolence seems to overlook them, or struggles for their benefit in vain. Patriotism forgets them, or remembers them only with shame for what has been, and with dire forebodings, of what is yet to come.

And of these two millions, the great majority are slaves. In a country proud of its freedom, and whose institutions breathe the spirit of universal liberty, one-sixth of the entire population are the subjects of a hereditary and hopeless bondage. If the political institutions of our country were based on the principle of arbitrary power and hereditary distinctions, if the privileges of freemen were less widely bestowed or less valued, the existence of personal slavery to this extent would hardly be out of place,—it would be in harmony with the national institutions and with the national spirit, and would be attended with little danger. But as it is, the slavery which exists in these States, is a deadly and cancerous sore upon the vitals of the commonwealth;—it must be eradicated or the nation dies.

The Society then proceeds to state some of the principles in which the “patriotic, prudent, and Christian,” of almost every religious denomination, and from every quarter of the country, united at the origin of the Society.



1. It is taken for granted that in *present circumstances, any effort to produce a general and thorough amelioration in the character and condition of the free people of colour must be to a great extent fruitless.* In every part of the United States there is a broad and impassable line of demarcation between every man who has one drop of African blood in his veins and every other class in the community. The habits, the feelings, all the prejudices of society—prejudices which neither refinement, nor argument, nor education, nor religion itself can subdue—mark the people of colour, whether bond or free, as the subjects of a degradation inevitable and incurable. The African in this country belongs by birth to the very lowest station in society; and from that station he can never rise, be his talents, his enterprise, his virtues, what they may. In consequence of this, it is that they are and what they are. The wonder is that in such circumstances, they are not far worse. And so long as they continue in these circumstances, they must be deeply and incurably degraded. We have only to compute the extent, the variety, the power of the motives which are brought to bear upon the mind of every man who is truly a freeman, and at the same time recollect how few of these motives speak to the mind of the black man, bond or free; and we see that the coloured population of this country thus degraded by circumstances and degraded in public estimation, must be, as a mass, degraded in spirit, degraded in all their habits, degraded by ignorance, and indolence, and want of thrift, and degraded by vice. What motive has the black man to cultivate his mind. Educate him, and you have added little or nothing to his happiness—you have unfitted him for the society and sympathies of his degraded kindred, and yet you have not procured for him, and cannot procure for him, any admission into the society and sympathy of white men. What motive has the black man to be industrious? He can supply all his physical wants without industry; and beyond the supply of his immediate physical wants, he has little inducement to look. Would you set before him the prospect of wealth as a motive to industrious enterprise? But of what value is wealth to him? Wealth can secure a sort of respectability for the ignorant and rude, and even for the vicious; it can half atone for crimes against the happiness of society; but it can do nothing for the black man. Would you urge him to frugality and diligence by the prospect of making provision for his children? But if neither education nor property can do any thing for him, education and property can do as little for his children after him. Would you set before him the importance of a good character? But of how much value is character to him who stands now, and must always stand in the lowest order of society? It is this degradation of the condition of our free coloured population which ensures their degradation of character, and their degradation of character reacts to make their condition still more degraded. They constitute a class by themselves—a class out of which no individual can be elevated, and below which, none can be depressed. And this is the difficul-

ty, the invariable and insuperable difficulty in the way of every scheme for their benefit: Much can be done for them—much has been done; but still they are, and, in this country, always must be a depressed and abject race.

2. Another principle, in which the friends of the Colonization Society have been united from the beginning is, that *the improvement and ultimate abolition of slavery must be brought about by a moral influence only, and must be done by the people of the slave-holding states themselves, of their own will.* There is indeed another way in which slavery may, at some time or other, be abolished—a mode of abolition, at the thought of which, the heart sickens, and the imagination revolts in horror; but that is the very catastrophe which the promoters of this undertaking were anxiously aiming to avert.—But how, in this country, *can* slavery be abolished, if not by violence and insurrection? By Legislation? The strong hand of an Imperial Parliament is indeed introducing the reform of slavery and preparing its gradual suppression in the British Colonies; but the circumstances of the slave-holding States in this confederacy, preclude the thought of any such interference here. The Legislatures of the States where slavery does not exist, have no more to do with the laws and social institutions of the States where it does exist, than they have to do with the military and ecclesiastical establishments of the European kingdoms. The National Government has no control over the subject, for the right of the slave-holder to his property is guaranteed by the very compact on which the National Government rests for its existence. The Legislature of each slave-holding State can Legislate only for its own constituents. Those Legislatures are only the servants of the people; and when the people of those States demand the abolition of slavery, then slavery will be abolished, and not till then.

3. A third point in which the first promoters of this object were united, is, that *few individual slave-holders can, in the present state of things, emancipate their slaves if they would.* There is a certain relation between the proprietor of slaves and the beings thus thrown upon him, which is far more complicated, and far less easily dissolved than a mind unacquainted with the subject is ready to imagine. The relation is one which, where it exists, grows out of the very structure of society, and for the existence of which, the master is ordinarily as little accountable as the slave. It is a relation, like the relation of parent and child, or master and apprentice, involving reciprocal duties—on the one hand protection and support, and on the other hand obedience. It is an arbitrary relation in that it does not result from the necessary condition of human nature, but rather from an artificial and unnatural organization of society; and yet it is not arbitrary in any sense which implies that it depends for its existence, or its continuance, on the consent of the parties. You may go to a slave-holder, and propose to him to emancipate his slaves. You may set before him all the evils of slavery in the most vivid colours. You may make him feel those evils as strongly as you feel them. But what shall he do? Perhaps the laws of

the State forbid emancipation as an act which goes only to swell the amount of pauperism, and wretchedness, and crime. But supposing there is no legal obstacle in the way, what shall he do? Here are a hundred human beings dependent on him for protection, and support, and government, and he, on the other hand, is dependent on their services for the means of supporting himself and them. This relation he did not voluntarily assume; he was born the proprietor of these slaves, just as really as he was born the subject of civil government. It is his duty, a duty which he cannot avoid, to make the best provision in his power for their sustenance and comfort. It is proposed to him to emancipate them. He looks around him and sees that the condition of the great mass of emancipated Africans is one in comparison with which the condition of his slaves is enviable,—and he is convinced that if he withdraws from his slaves, his authority, his support, his protection, and leaves them to shift for themselves, he turns them out to be vagabonds, and paupers, and felons, and to find in the work-house and the penitentiary, the home which they ought to have retained on his paternal acres. This is no unreal case. There may be slaves—there are slaves by thousands and tens of thousands—whose condition is that of the most abject distress; but these are the slaves of masters whose whole conduct is a constant violation of duty, and with whom the suggestion of giving freedom to their slaves would not be harboured for a moment. The case which we have supposed, is the case of a master really desirous to benefit his slaves. Hundreds of humane and Christian slave-holders retain their fellow-men in bondage, because they are convinced that they can do no better.

The simple object of the American Colonization Society is to plant Colonies of free blacks from the United States upon the coast of Africa. This object they have been pursuing for eleven years, and they are now more fully convinced than ever that the accomplishment of this object will be attended with the best results, both as it respects the improvement of the character and condition of the free blacks, and as respects the gradual and safe abolition of slavery.

What such Colonies are to do for the free blacks, it is not difficult to understand. Here the black man is degraded. You may call him free, you may protect his rights by legislation, you may invoke the spirit of humanity and of Christian benevolence to bless him, but still he is degraded. A thousand malignant influences around him are conspiring to wither all that is manly and noble in his nature. But in Africa he becomes a member of a community in which he is not only free but equal. There he stands up to be a man. There he has a home for himself, and for his children after him. There, as he looks about him on a soil of unrivalled and almost incredible fertility, on the dark forest already beginning to fall at the approach of civilization, on the varieties of mountain, and valley, and stream, already known by names dear to freedom and benevolence, on all the mag-

nificence and luxuriance of that tropical land, he can feel that there is his home, the land of his fathers, the refuge of the exile, and that there his children through succeeding ages shall enjoy a rich and noble inheritance. There he finds himself moved to industrious and honourable, and virtuous enterprise, by all the motives that inspire and quicken the freemen of our own New England. Every man of colour who removes from the United States to our African Colonies, removes from a land of degradation, from a land where his soul is crushed and withered by the constant sense of inferiority, to a land where he may enjoy all the attributes of manhood and all the happiness of freedom.

The successful establishment of these colonies will not only bless the colonists themselves, but will react to elevate the standing of those who remain behind. From beyond the Atlantic there will come a light to beam upon the degradation of the negro. Let it be known among the coloured population of this country what Africa is, and what advantages it offers to the emigrant; and soon the selfsame spirit which now lands thousands of suffering Irishmen every year upon our shores, will be yearly landing thousands of our free blacks upon the shores of Africa.

What effect the execution of this scheme is to have on the progressive abolition of slavery in our country, may be easily shown.

1. In the first place, *it will give to many benevolent masters an opportunity for the safe and happy emancipation of their slaves.* This scheme solves the dilemma in which many a humane and Christian slave-holder has found himself. It shows him how he can free his slaves, and at the same time free himself from the responsibility of holding them in bondage, and at the same time secure the permanent improvement of their condition. Already has many a benevolent holder of slaves availed himself of the opening which is thus presented. In the State of North Carolina the entire community of Quakers have emancipated their slaves, and by their own contributions have provided for their emigration to more favourable climes.

2. In the second place, the prosecution of this scheme *will excite discussion and will fix public attention on this great national interest.* Attention, discussion is what this subject needs. We need attention and discussion—not declamation aiming at no good result—not the invectives of heated politicians—but calm, serious, kind investigation, leading the nation to estimate the extent and nature of the evil more exactly, and seeking out the remedies by which it may be alleviated and subdued. To this result the scheme is even now most obviously tending. What has already been done in the way of freeing and transporting slaves, has sent a thrill through the hearts of thousands. And every new example of this kind, as it awakens new applause will act on public opinion with a wider and more powerful influence. Good men and patriotic men in the slave-holding States will be led to examine the subject anew; they will see it in new relations, they will

regard it with new emotions. Thus the public mind will be gradually enlightened, and public opinion will be renovated.

But let this enterprise be successfully pursued, and a few years hence, the fertile soil of Africa will be cultivated by the hands of freemen. Then there will be no monopoly on which slavery can be sustained; and the universal abolition of slavery will be not far distant. Then it will fall, not by violence, not by sudden commotion, but by the power of public opinion, convinced that it is a burthen too heavy to be sustained, and calling on the wisdom and the power of legislation to effect the gradual and safe, but sure removal of the curse.

But here we would remark, that such a result would, instead of proving injurious, be the greatest of all possible benefits to our southern country. A state of things like the present, cannot, permanently, be consistent with the most important interests of any class of society. The removal then of the evil alluded to, every patriot must desire, if such removal can be providentially effected without any violation of private right, or public law.

To what remains of this admirable address, we particularly invite the attention of our friends.

There are other results connected with the success of our enterprise to which we might call your attention. We might tell of the slave trade still raging with unabated horror, save where its suppression has been effected by the Colonies of Liberia and Sierra Leone. We might tell you of a continent covered with barbarism, and on which no light of civilization or of Christianity has ever shined. But it is enough to name such considerations as these. We need not surpass the limits of this appeal to show in detail how the prosecution of our enterprise will put a speedy and perpetual end to all those horrors which have so long roused the indignation of the world in vain. Nor need we tell how from our Colonies the light will spread, like the morning on the mountain, when summit after summit, and valley after valley catches the sunbeam. Your thoughts glance forward to the time when Africa, so long darkened, and defiled, and wretched, shall be redeemed from its miseries and washed from its pollutions, and shall be filled with the light and blessing of the gospel.

In this enterprise, friends and fellow-citizens, you are invited to co-operate. And it is urged upon your notice, not as a newly projected scheme of gigantic yet uncertain results, but as a scheme already tried, and at this hour in successful operation. It is now eleven years since the experiment was undertaken. Then every thing was uncertain. It was uncertain how many would be found to favour the undertaking in its infancy. It was un-

certain whether a suitable territory could be purchased. It was uncertain whether a sufficient number of Colonists could be found willing and qualified to make a beginning. It was uncertain whether savage tribes, or the combined power of the slave traders ever hovering over that devoted coast, or the diseases of that burning climate, might not sweep away the settlers at the outset and utterly defeat the enterprise. Then there were few who had that prophetic scope of judgment, or that deep and inspiring enthusiasm of benevolence, which could endure such disheartening anticipations as seemed inseparable from the project. Then it was no wonder that the people of New England, knowing little of the nature, and feeling nothing of the direct pressure of that flood of evils for which an outlet was to be provided, looked on the scheme with comparative apathy and incredulity.—But the time for apathy or incredulity, the time for doubt and backwardness, is past.

During the first five years there was little to encourage the promoters of this object, and much to create despondency. From the inexperience of their Agents in Africa, from the treachery of native proprietors with whom they were compelled to negotiate for territory, from the diseases of the country, and from the assaults of savage enemies, they suffered multiplied calamities. And at home there were obstacles hardly less discouraging.—By some whose favour they had anticipated with confidence, the entire project was scouted as chimerical. By others every appeal of theirs was received with indifference. By others their motives were misunderstood, and their expectations misconstrued. The friends of abolition opposed them because they did not go far enough, and charged them with a design to perpetuate the evils which they hoped to remedy. The friends of slavery hated them because they went too far, and charged them with a rashness of philanthropy that was to be the ruin of their country. But for the past six years a kind Providence has been pleased to smile on the undertaking. The Society is now in possession of a Territory extending one hundred and fifty miles on the sea coast. The Colony consists of more than twelve hundred souls. It is defended by fortifications sufficient to repel any probable attack. It is under the immediate direction of a man,\* who, by six years of arduous and successful effort, has given the most abundant proof of his competency for the work, and of his devotion to the noble enterprise. It is enjoying all the blessings of a government republican in spirit, well regulated, and wisely administered. It has under its jurisdiction eight several stations, by means of which, it maintains an extensive commerce with the natives. Its principal town, which bears the venerated name of the late Chief Magistrate of this nation, is a thriving commercial village, whose port is “rarely clear of European and American shipping.” The institutions of religion are planted there; houses are erected for the

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\* J. Ashmun, Esq.

worship of the Living God; and on the bold promontory of Monrovia, the white spire, pointing to the heavens, stands a beautiful monument of the triumph of the gospel in that land of blood and darkness. Every child in the Colony enjoys the advantages of schools, for the support of which the settlers in addition to what the Society has done, contribute by voluntary subscription eleven hundred dollars annually. Not only are the institutions of religion and education enjoyed, but their influence is seen in the order, peace, industry, contentment and happiness of the community. The light of civilization and religion is gradually spreading among the savage tribes of the vicinity. Missionaries from the Baptist churches of this country, have for years been stationed at the Colony. Others from the Protestant Episcopal Society, and from the American Board of Foreign Missions, have been appointed to that work and are soon to embark. And even the Lutheran church of Germany and Switzerland has directed its evangelical efforts to Liberia, as affording the best means of access to heathen Africa; and intelligence has just been received that two missionaries well qualified and amply furnished for their work, have already arrived, as pioneers of a much larger force expected soon to follow. In a word, a civilized Christian Colony—the germ of a nation—has been planted on the coast of Africa, and is already diffusing light through its benighted regions.

Such success gives palpable demonstration that the scheme is something more than a chimera. The consequence is that the undertaking is daily exciting more and more attention, is becoming better understood, and is enlisting in greater numbers warm and devoted friends. It is awaking a deep and earnest interest throughout our land; and, especially in the slaveholding States it is fixing public attention and eliciting inquiry and discussion on that great national interest, the remedy and ultimate removal of the evils connected with the condition of our coloured population. Already has it been agitated, and soon will it be thoroughly discussed in the halls of our national legislature.

The Colonization Society of the State of Connecticut, in behalf of which we now address you, was organized in the hope of concentrating and heightening that interest in this noble undertaking which is known to exist among the people of this State. A year has just elapsed since the formation of the Society was announced to the public. The managers had hoped by the employment of some competent agent, to bring the subject in detail before the minds of their fellow-citizens. That hope has been hitherto disappointed, but is not yet finally relinquished. Meanwhile we bring before you, for your candid consideration, the summary statements contained in this address. And as our Treasurer's account for the last year shows that without a word of solicitation, and without any direct effort on our part, two hundred dollars have been thrown into the treasury, we are the more encouraged to hope that this appeal to your patriotism and your Christian feeling will not be made in vain.

We ask you to bestow on this subject a fair and thorough investigation. And that you may know fully what has been accomplished, and what is now going on, we beg leave to commend to your special notice the publications of the National Society. We are bold to say that no man whose mind is open to conviction, can read the Annual Reports and the Monthly Magazine of that Society—so full of the most striking and unanswerable facts—without becoming interested even to enthusiasm.

We ask you to use your influence towards forming in this community a correct and vigorous and active public opinion respecting the claims of Africa. We ask you to use your influence in your several spheres, towards rousing inquiry and diffusing information on this great subject. Who that understands the merits of this enterprise may not in this way lend it an efficient patronage? Who may not in this way contribute something towards forming that strong current of public opinion which will by and by direct the application of the *national* resources for the fulfilment of this national design?

We ask your contributions. A subscriber of thirty dollars at one time becomes a member for life of the National Society. The payment of ten dollars at one time, or of one dollar annually, is the condition of membership in this auxiliary. How many men are there in Connecticut who might, without material inconvenience to themselves, and without subtracting any thing from their ordinary charities, constitute themselves life members of the parent institution! How many more who might with equal ease become either annual or life subscribers to the Connecticut Society! How many ministers of every denomination might be constituted members of the National or State Society, by the benefactions of their people! In which of our towns or villages might not the exertions of a few spirited individuals secure a public contribution to this great national object, on the anniversary of our independence? There are in this State one hundred and twenty-nine incorporated towns. If the average amount of only thirty dollars could be raised annually among the citizens of each of these towns, it would send nearly four thousand dollars every year to diminish the yearly increasing pressure of the greatest curse which rests upon this nation, and to build up the institutions of freedom, and intelligence, and piety, on a continent over which darkness and misery have brooded for uncounted generations.

We trust that this appeal, brief and imperfect as it is, will not be in vain. For we address a community famed for its intelligence, and controlled by feelings of unquestionable benevolence. We bring before you one of the most momentous interests of the country which we all love. We bring before you the wants of two millions of fellow-men, existing on our native soil, and yet not fellow-citizens—two millions of the human population of this country degraded to the dust, notwithstanding the boasted institutions of our freedom. We bring before you the horrors of the yet unabolished slave-trade,



little help that I am now giving them, that they will be comfortably housed on their own lands in two or three weeks.

I must just beg leave to mention to the Board, that from information which has been received from Jacob Warner, who has very recently returned from the Sesters, a very important section of the country is offered to the authorities of the Colony, which from Mr. Warner's account, would connect our Sesters and Bassa Lands together, and in time give the whole command of that line of coast, which is at present one of the principal rendezvous of slave vessels, which so enormously intercept and interrupt the progress of our factories, that the establishment of the Sesters is obliged to be given over at present. From the many deserters which have attended that enterprise, Mr. Warner has relinquished the idea of prosecuting it farther at present.

The slave trade in that neighbourhood prevails to an alarming extent, and I think from frequent information, that it is increasing very considerably in our neighbouring ports.

I am happy to inform the Board, that the whole settlement of Monrovia is resolved into a Sunday School Society, therefore our Sabbaths are strictly observed; also at Caldwell, they have made a beginning to the same amount.

## Contributions

*To the A. Colonization Society, from 1st to 30th June, 1828.*

By a few young friends in Fredericksburg, Va., .....	\$ 16 36
By Seth Terry, Esq., Treasurer Colonization Society Connecticut, (including \$30, paid by Mrs. Parmelie, a donation from sundry individuals in Bolton, to make Rev. L. Hyde, their Pastor, a life member of the American Colonization Society,) .....	200
By B. Brand, Esq., Tr. Richmond and Manchester Col. Soc'y., .....	55 25
By Richard Potts, Esq., Fredericktown, Md., .....	41 50
By John Pilson, Albermarle, Va., .....	2
Annual donation from a Member, .....	1
Repository, .....	25 33
Rev. R. Henry, Agent Pennsylvania, .....	20
Collection in St. John's Church, Washington, Rev. William Haw- ly, 29th June, .....	13 32
Collection in Christ Ch., Washington, Rev. Mr. Allen, 29th June, .....	8 97

\$383 73

THE  
**AFRICAN REPOSITORY,**  
AND  
**COLONIAL JOURNAL.**

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VOL. IV.

**JULY, 1828.**

No. 5.

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**Review**

*Of Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee, with a Statistical account of that Kingdom, and Geographical Notices of other parts of the Interior of Africa.* By EDWARD BOWDICH, Esq., Conductor. London, 1819.

(CONCLUDED FROM p. 106.)

THOUGH in many respects a truly savage, the Ashantees are a very discerning and shrewd people. It is their custom invariably in war, to place the "revolters recently quelled, or the allies last accepted, in the van of the army," and occasionally these constitute almost the entire army; the Ashantee part being held in reserve, led on to an engagement by the youngest captain first, succeeded in order by those of higher rank until you reach the King, who occupies the rear. To retreat is considered desperate, because those in the rear, with heavy swords cut any man down who attempts to escape from the contest. "It is one of the sentences of the most popular song in Coomassie, 'If I fight I die, if I run away I die, better that I go on and die.'" They are as the ancient Spaniards have been described, "*Prodiga gens animæ et properare facillima mortem.*" Their treatment of an enemy is barbarous in the extreme.

"Several of the hearts of the enemy are cut out by the fetish men who follow the army, and the blood and small pieces being mixed, (with much ceremony and incantation,) with various consecrated herbs, all those who have never killed an enemy before, eat a portion; for it is believed that if they did not, their vigour and courage would be secretly wasted by the haunting spirit of the deceased. It was said that the King and all the dignitaries partook of the heart of any celebrated enemy; this was only whispered; that they wore the smaller joints, bones, and the teeth of the slain monarchs, was evident as well as boasted. One man was pointed out to me, as always eating the heart of the enemy he killed with his own hand. The number of an army is ascertained or preserved in cowries or coin by Apokoo. When a successful general returns, he waits about two days, at a short distance from the capital, to receive the King's compliments, and to collect all the splendour possible for his *entré*, to encourage the army and infatuate the people. The most famous generals are distinguished by the addition of warlike names, more terrific than glorious, as they designate their manner of destroying their prisoners. Apokoo was called Aboäwassa, because he was in the habit of cutting off their arms. Appia, Sheäboo, as he beats their heads in pieces with a stone. Amanqua, Abiniowa, as he cuts off their legs."

Architecture and various other arts, appear to have received in Ashantee considerable attention. The walls of the houses consist of gravelly clay, which is received into a mould formed by two rows of stakes and wattle work placed at a distance equalling the intended thickness of the wall, and thickly plastered, so as to present the appearance of an entire thick mud wall. All the houses had gable ends, and the roofs consisted of a frame work of Bamboo, covered with an interwoven thatch of palm leaves, the frame work being painted black and polished so as to look better than any rude ceiling, with which it appears they are unacquainted. Arcades and piazzas were common. Great neatness was manifest in their houses as well as in their persons. One of the favourite projects of the King was to build a house for himself, to be roofed with "brass pans, beaten into flat surfaces, and laid over an ivory frame work appearing within.—The windows and the doors to be cased in gold, and the doorposts and pillars of ivory." The principle of the Ashantee loom is precisely the same with the English; it is worked by strings held between the toes, and the web never exceeds four inches in width. They use a spindle not a distaff, holding it in one hand

and twisting the thread with the finger and thumb of the other. The cloths are represented as remarkable for fineness, variety and brilliancy. They unravel the richest silks to weave into them. We here remark, that cloths (probably of an inferior kind) are manufactured in the same way among all the African tribes. They have two dye woods, a red and a yellow, and make green by mixing the latter with a blue dye in which they excel. This is made from a plant called *Acassie*, which is abundant in the woods. "They gather a quantity of the leaves, bruise them in a wooden mortar, and spread them out on a mat to dry; this mass is kept for use, a proportion of it is put into a pot of water and remains six days, drying it once every day in the sun, it is then a deep lasting blue colour."

They excel in pottery, having very fine clay which is polished by friction, and the grooves of the patterns filled up with chalk. They dress leather and work in iron with considerable ability. The following extract gives the process adopted in making articles of gold.

"The people of Dagwumba surpass the Ashantees in goldsmith's work, though the latter may be esteemed proficient in the art. The small articles for the Museum, a gold stool, *sanko*, bell, jaw bone, and drum, are not such neat specimens as I could wish; the man who made them having too much costly work on hand for the King, to pay our trifles his wonted attention; unfortunately too, he was committed to prison before they were quite finished; however, they will give an idea. I weighed out nineteen *ackies* and a half of gold dust for making these articles, one third of an *ackie* was lost in melting, and five was the charge of the goldsmith. We lost a beautiful silver pipe in the bustle. Bees wax for making the model of the article wanted, is spun out on a smooth block of wood, by the side of a fire, on which stands a pot of water; a flat stick is dipped into this, with which the wax is made of a proper softness; it takes about a quarter of an hour to make enough for a ring. When the model is finished, it is enclosed in a composition of wet clay and charcoal, (which being closely pressed around it, forms a mould,) dried in the sun, and having a small cup of the same materials attached to it, (to contain the gold for fusion,) communicating with the model by a small perforation. When the whole model is finished, and the gold carefully enclosed in the cup, it is put in a charcoal fire, with the cup undermost. When the gold is supposed to be fused, the cup is turned uppermost, that it may run into the place of the melted wax; when cool, the clay is broken, and if the article is not perfect, it goes through the whole process again. To give the gold its proper colour,

they put a layer of finely ground red ochre, (which they call *Inchuma*,) all over it, and immerse it in boiling water mixed with the same substance, and a little salt; after it has boiled half an hour, it is taken out and thoroughly cleansed from any clay that may adhere to it. Their bellows are imitations of ours, but the sheep skin they use being tied to the wood with leather thongs, the wind escapes through the crevices; therefore, when much gold is on the fire they are obliged to use two or three pair at the same time. Their anvils are generally a large stone, or a piece of iron placed on the ground. Their stoves are built of Swish, (about three or four feet high,) in a circular form, and are open about one-fifth of the circumference; a hole is made through the closed part, level with the ground, for the nozzle of the bellows. Their weights are very neat brass casts of almost every animal, fruit, or vegetable known in the country. The King's scales, blow pan, boxes, and weights, and even the tongs which hold the cinder to light his pipe, were neatly made of the purest gold that could be manufactured."

Mr. Bowdich estimates the population of Ashantæ at one million, of which he supposes 204,000 are men able to bear arms. Though polygamy is tolerated to great excess, yet the number of females is not thought to be two to one. The men are well made, and among the women Mr. Bowdich saw not only very beautiful forms, but in some instances, regular Grecian features, and brilliant eyes. The higher classes are remarkable for their neatness. The government derives a very considerable revenue from the taxation of its subjects and tributary states. The soil of the market place, which is only washed in cases of emergency, has yielded 800 oz. of gold at one time.—(Vide Repository, p. 72.)

The Ashantees estimate the population of Coomassie at one hundred thousand, and Mr. Bowdich is of opinion that it is much larger than Sego, which Mr. Park thought contained thirty thousand. Fruits are abundant, and grow spontaneously; the oranges were large and of an exquisite flavour. The castor oil (*ricinus communis*) rises to a large tree. The sugar-cane and cotton plant are common.

To most of our readers, we presume, the chapter on the Ashantee language would be uninteresting, though it contains many acute and very ingenious remarks. We give but a single extract.

"The Ashantees generally use much and vehement gesture, and speak in

recitative: their action is exuberant, but graceful; and from the infancy of the language, nouns and verbs are constantly repeated, for force and distinction, as *one one*, for *one by one*, or *each*; *one tokoo one tokoo*, for *one tokoo a-piece*. They frequently are obliged to vary the tone, in pronouncing a word which has more than one meaning, as the Chinese do. They have no expression short of, you are a liar; and the King was surprised, when I told him we made a great difference between a mistake and a lie: he said, the truth was not spoken in either case, and therefore it was the same thing; they did not consider the motive, but only the fact.

"Like the American Languages, those of this part of Africa are full of figures, hyperbolic and picturesque.\* One of the Kings of the interior, whose territories the Ashantees had long talked of invading, sent forty pots of palm oil to Coomassie, with the message, that "he feared they could not find their way, so he sent the oil to light them." The Accras, instead of good night, say, *woöü D'tcherrimong*, sleep till the lighting of the world: one of their imprecations against their enemies is, "may their hiding place be our flute," that is, "our plaything:" when they speak of a man imposing on them, they say, "he turned the backs of our heads into our mouths." Having occasion, whilst at Coomassie, to protest against the conduct of an individual, the King replied, through Adoossee, "The horse comes from the bush, and is a fool, but the man who rides him knows sense, and by and by makes him do what he wishes; you, by yourself, made the horse, who was a fool, do better the other day, therefore, three of you ought to teach a man, who is not born a fool, and does not come from the bush, to do what you know to be right by and by, though I see he does wrong now."

The wild music of these people, (says Mr. Bowdich) is scarcely to be brought within the regular rules of harmony; yet their airs have a sweetness and animation, beyond any barbarous compositions I ever heard. Few of their instruments possess much power, yet the effect of their combination is surprising. A long hollow reed with three holes, is their flute; but it is on the Sanko that they best display their musical talents.

"It consists of a narrow box, the open top of which is covered with Alligator or Antelope skin; a bridge is raised on this, over which eight strings are conducted to the end of a long stick, fastened to the forepart of the box and thickly notched, and the strings are raised or depressed into these notches as occasion requires.

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\* "The messenger concluded this insulting notification, by presenting the King with a pair of iron sandals, at the same time adding, that until such time as Daisy had worn out these sandals in his flight, he should never be secure from the arrows of Bambarra."—Park's 1st Mission.

"The Horns are made of elephants' tusks, they are generally large, and their flourishes have a grand and martial effect. These flourishes are various as the chiefs to whose bands they belong, and the peculiar sentences they express are immediately recognized by the soldiers."

Here it may, perhaps, be well to introduce from Mr. Bowdich's sketch of Gaboon, (or as the natives call it Empoongwa, lat. N. 30°, E. long. 8° 42'), an account of a most extraordinary performer. The inspirations of genius were perhaps never more wonderful.

"My patience during a series of dull Empoöngwa songs, was recompensed by the introduction of a performer, as loathsome as his music was astonishing. It was a white negro from the interior country of Imbeekée; his features betrayed his race, his hair was woolly, and of a sandy colour, with thick eye-brows of the same; his eyes small, bright, and of a dark grey; the light seemed to hurt them, and their constant quivering and rolling gave his countenance an air of insanity, which was confirmed by the actions of his head and limbs, and the distortions of his mouth. His stature was middling, and his limbs very small; his skin was dreadfully diseased, and where it was free from sores, bore the appearance of being thrown on, it hung about him so loose and so shrivelled; his voice was hollow, and his laugh loud, interspersed with African howls. His harp was formed of wood, except that part emitting the sound, which was covered with goat skin, perforated at the bottom. The bow to which the eight strings were fixed, was considerably curved, and there was no upright; the figure head, which was well curved, was placed at the top of the body, the strings were twisted round long pegs, which easily turned when they wanted tuning, and being made of the fibrous roots of palm wine tree, were very tough and not apt to slip. The tone was full, harmonious, and deep. He sat on a low stool, and supporting his harp on his knee and shoulder, proceeded to tune it with great nicety; his hands seemed to wander amongst the strings until he gradually formed a running accompaniment (but with little variety) to his extraordinary vociferations. At times, one deep and hollow note burst forth and died away; the sounds of the harp became broken; presently he looked up, pursuing all the actions of a maniac, taking one hand from the strings, to wave it up and down, stretching forth one leg, and drawing it up again as if convulsed, lowering the harp on to the other foot, and tossing it up and down. Whilst the one hand continued playing, he rung forth a peal which vibrated on the ear long after it had ceased; he was silent; the running accompaniment served again as a prelude to a loud recitative, uttered with the greatest volubility, and ending with one word, with which he ascended and descended, far beyond the extent of his harp, with the

most beautiful precision. Sometimes he became more collected, and a mournful air succeeded the recitative, though without the least connection, and he would again burst out with the whole force of his powerful voice in the notes of the Hallelujah of Handel. To meet with this chorus in the wilds of Africa, and from such a being, had an effect I can scarcely describe, and I was lost in astonishment at the coincidence. There could not be a stronger proof of the nature of Handel, or the powers of the negro.

"I naturally inquired if this man was in his senses, and the reply was, that he was always rational but when he played, when he invariably used the same gestures, and evinced the same incoherency. The accompanying notes were caught whilst he was singing; to do more than set them down in their respective lengths, was impossible, and every notation must be far inadequate.

"As regards the words, there was such a rhapsody of recitative, of mournful, impetuous, and exhilarated air, wandering through the life of man, throughout the animal and vegetable kingdom for its subjects, without period, without connection, so transient, abrupt, and allegorical, that the Governor of the town could translate a line but occasionally, and I was too much possessed by the music, and the alternate rapture and phrenzy of the performer, to minute the half which he communicated. I can only submit the fragments of a melancholy and a descriptive part.

Burst of a man led to execution,

Yawa yawa wo wo oh

Yawa wai yawa

What have I done? what have I done?

Bewailing the loss of his mother,

Yawa gooba shangawelladi yaiaa

Wo na boo, &c.

My mother dies; who'll cry for me now

When I die? &c.

Pahmbolce gwoongee yayoo, &c.

Which path shall I seek my love?

Hark! I know now,

I hear her snap the dry sticks,

To speak, to call to me.

"Jiggledy, jiggledy, too too tee too, often invaded or broke off a mournful strain; it was said to be an imitation of the note of a bird, described as the wood-pecker."

In our last number we published some account of the horrible rites, with which the decease of a distinguished person is celebrated. It was stated that upon the death of his mother, the King devoted 3,000 *human victims for sacrifice*. Mr. Hutchi-



son. it will be recollected, remained in Coomassie after the return of Mr. Bowdich, and had therefore opportunity to become more intimately acquainted, than his associates in the embassy, with the customs and superstitions of the country. In describing the circumstances which attend the *human sacrifices*, he relates only those things of which he was an eye, or an ear witness; and consequently, his statement deserves full credit. Of the following account, we may say, as has been said of the slave-trade, "there is a horror in it enough to turn the streams of life backward."

"When any public execution, or sacrifice, is to take place, the ivory horns of the King proclaim at the palace door, "wow! wow! wow!" "death! "death, death, death!" and, as they cut off their heads, the bands play a peculiar strain, till the operation is finished.

"The greatest human sacrifice that has been made in Coomassie during my residence, took place on the eve of the Adai custom, early in January. I had a mysterious intimation of it two days before, from a quarter not to be named. My servants being ordered out of the way, I was thus addressed:—"Christian, take care and watch over your family; the angel of death has drawn his sword, and will strike on the neck of many Ashantees; when the drum is struck, on Adai eve, it will be the death signal of many. Shun the King if you can, but fear not." When the time came to strike the drum, I was sitting thinking on the horrors of the approaching night, and was rather startled at a summons to attend the King. This is the manner he always takes to cut off any captain or person of rank; they are sent for to talk a palaver, and the moment they enter, the slaves lay hold of them, and pinion them, and throw them down; if they are thought desperate characters, a knife is thrust through their mouth, to keep them from swearing the death of any other, when they are charged with their crime, real or supposed, and put to death or torture.

"Whilst I was with the King, the officers, whose duty it is to attend at sacrifices, and are in the confidence of the King, came in with their knives, &c. and a message was sent to one chief to say, that the King was going to his mother's house to talk a palaver, and shortly after his Majesty rose, and proceeded thither, ordering the attendants to conduct me out by another door.

"This sacrifice was in consequence of the King imagining, that if he washed the bones of his mother and sisters, who died while he was on the throne, it would propitiate the fetish, and make the war successful. Their bones were, therefore, taken from their coffins, and bathed in rum and water with great ceremony; after being wiped with silks, they were rolled in gold dust, and wrapped in strings of rock gold, aggy beads, and other

things of the most costly nature. Those who had done any thing to displease the King, were then sent for in succession, and immolated as they entered, "that their blood might water the graves." The whole of the night, the King's executioners traversed the streets, and dragged every one they found to the palace, where they were put in irons: but (which is often the case) some one had disclosed the secret, and almost every one had fled, and the King was disappointed of most of his distinguished victims. Next morning being Adai custom, which generally brought an immense crowd to the city, every place was silent and forlorn; nothing could be found in the market, and his Majesty proceeded to the morning sacrifice of sheep, &c. attended only by his confidants, and the members of his own family. When I appeared at the usual time, he seemed pleased at my confidence, and remarked that I observed how few captains were present.—He appeared agitated and fatigued, and sat a very short time.

"As soon as it was dark, the human sacrifices were renewed, and during the night, the bones of the royal deceased were removed to the tomb at Bantama, to be deposited along with the remains of those who had sat on the throne. The procession was splendid, but not numerous; the chiefs and attendants being dressed in the war costume, with a musket, and preceded by torches; the sacred stools, and all the ornaments used on great occasions, were carried with them; the victims, with their hands tied behind them, and in chains, preceded the bones, whilst, at intervals, the songs of death and victory proved their wish to begin the war. The procession returned about three P. M. on Monday, when the King took his seat in the market-place with his small band, and "death! death! death!" was echoed by his horns. He sat with a silver goblet of palm wine in his hand, and when they cut off any head, imitated a dancing motion in his chair; a little before dark, he finished his terrors for that day, by retiring to the palace, and soon after, the chiefs came from their concealment, and paraded the streets, rejoicing that they had escaped death, although a few days might put them in the same fear. I had been attacked by a violent fit of ague in the morning, from having stood so long in the sun the day before, while with the King, it being unusually hot. I dared not send out my people to procure any thing, least they should be murdered, and in fact, there was nothing in the market to be had: there was not even a drop of water in the house. The sacrifice was continued till the next Adai custom, seventeen days."

We must here take leave of this very interesting and excellent work. Some surprise, we confess, we have felt that a book so much superior, as is this, to any other relating to Africa, with which we are acquainted, should be still unpublished in our country. Mr. Bowdich is evidently a man of learning and

science, and every one who peruses his journal will see evidence that in regard to the great objects of his mission, his talents were neither neglected nor misapplied. He has spared no labour to present, in well arranged order, the facts which he has collected; and the remarks which accompany them are those of a judicious mind, adding greatly to the value of his information. And who that has followed us even in our concise review of this work, is not convinced that to plant civilization and Christianity in Africa, is an object having immediate claims upon us—claims of vast and affecting importance. Who that has the feelings of a Christian, or even of a man, would not promote an enterprise which should afford the least hope of disenthraling from satan's bondage the wretched Africans, of overthrowing the tremendous system of Ashantee superstition, and of publishing the gospel of peace and salvation wherever human beings are to be found throughout the continent of Africa.



### *Omens of Success.*

It is delightful to observe how rapidly the design which we are permitted to advocate, is advancing in the good opinion of our countrymen. Every mail brings evidence of this, in the well written essays coming forth from a hundred presses throughout the Union to defend and promote it. To notice them all is impossible, much more so to copy them entire on our pages.—Their publication, however, is not on this account the less gratifying or useful; and, indeed, sad would be our reflections, did we find that our own work stood the sole representative of popular sentiment on this subject. So far as our limits will permit, we shall certainly gather into it the arguments of others, and strengthen ourselves by all those resources which a good Providence is bringing forward for the triumph of our cause.

We have been favoured with copies of several essays which lately appeared in the Snow Hill Messenger, Md. and which, we understand, have been read with avidity, and much commended in that section of the state. The style is attractive from its simplicity, and touches of wit and humour occasionally give

brightness to the current of the argument. In his first essay, the author observes,

“As to the manner of discussion, we shall avoid every thing disputatious. It is true, we should not decline opposition were it proffered; but we cannot anticipate opposition to one of the most benignant schemes ever set on foot, to meliorate the condition of our fellow-men. Our style shall be plain. The running style of the reviewers would suit neither myself nor my readers. We shall not affect, as these learned gentlemen, to take a range.—Some of them remind us of a sportsman, who starts in pursuit of game, but consumes the day in beating about every bush. Nor is there necessity for being ambitious of the boasted style of Junius. A style of such severe and uncompromising stateliness would ill become one who is aiming mildly to persuade his fellow-citizens to turn their attention to this benevolent enterprise. But, above all, brevity will be sought after. Were my papers long, they would not be read; a man whose heart is in his subject, will generally be sparing of words. When attending Congress hall some fifteen years ago, in the capacity of a looker on, I always thought that the long and frequent speakers could not be patriots. It has become a fact well known in history, that when the Declaration of Independence was under consideration, that far more was said by the alternation of august, intrepid, and pensive looks, than by oral debate.

“Lastly.—If asked for my motives for stirring this business, I reply, though we live in a retired part of the country, we send Legislators every year to the Capitol of the State—we delegate successively our Representatives to Congress, we are not behind every other portion of the community in intelligence. We have an equal interest in this scheme at stake with other sections of the country, and if the American Colonization Society cannot have its advocates in the retired nooks, as well as in the public places of the land, the scheme will be successful, for the King himself is served of the field. As a ballad has sometimes waked up a nation, perhaps these little papers may wake up a few to the importance of this enterprise. By stating simple facts, information may possibly be given to some, and interest awakened with others. If Sir William Jones wished all great intellectual works to be reduced to their quintessence, it is not improper to wish that all great works of philanthropy should be laid before the people in their elements.

“It is clear that the writer might now choose any signature he pleased out of the long roll of philanthropists, and though I dislike his luscious style and inconclusive reasoning, I will, notwithstanding, take upon myself the illustrious name of  
WM. PENN.”

At present, we can only avail ourselves of the benefit of No.

VII. in this series, which exhibits briefly the principal characteristics of our great design.

"If the Colonization scheme were destitute of the following properties, we should, for one, be willing to relinquish it.

"1st. It is practicable. It can be accomplished. The world has been peopled by colonization. Greece, Italy, and our own country, are examples. The tenth chapter of Genesis is a very illustrative document on this subject. But could the history of the world be spread out, at one view, what light would it cast on the disclosure of the Bible, that all men were descended from one pair. Yet, notwithstanding our descent from a single pair, the population of our globe is spread incalculably wide. The curiosity and avarice of men have become acquainted with nearly all the emerald isles of the ocean. When Columbus discovered America, he found millions of men, probably of the Asiatic origin. Possibly within the interior of our globe, there may be millions of rational beings. If so, the reader may rely upon it, that they are all sprung from Adam and Eve. Why human enterprise then should be palsied in its efforts to roll the tide of emigration over Africa, we are at a loss to imagine. Human enterprise has here displayed itself in another shape. It has been fearfully at work. On the day that the subject was agitated in the Presbyterian Church, after an eloquent address by E. K. Wilson, our Representative elect to the next Congress, Irving Spence, Esq. showed conclusively that if lawless villains succeed in removing so many thousands every year from Africa, that influence, intelligence, and philanthropy, could doubtless remove a vastly greater number from our country. The Portuguese, Spanish, French, and English, have long had settlements in Africa, and such settlements may be multiplied a thousand fold. But private beneficence is quickly exhausted, and the scheme will thus be rendered abortive. This is an erroneous view of private benevolence, though we do not rely upon it entirely for the accomplishment of this scheme. Should Congress never deliberate on this matter, we do not despair of great success. From private munificence alone, a thousand streams will keep always flowing into the channels of African Colonization.

"2d. This scheme is expedient. All things are lawful, said an inspired Apostle, but all things are not expedient. It is perfectly lawful to remove this foul stain from our country, but the question is, whether it be expedient. Is it fit and becoming in us to attempt it? Is it a suitable time to begin this great work? Do circumstances and events appear to favour the design? Men might as well not act, as to act without judgment and foresight. But for twenty years, events have appeared to favour the cause of Africa. There has been an artless and undesigned co-operation among philanthropists in different sections of the United States. They were aiming at the same general objects, but it is now becoming a fixed opinion

among the judicious friends of Africa, that the Colonization Society have best adapted their means and their measures to the accomplishment of their end.

"3d. Necessary. There is necessity for this scheme. We ought to say to the evil that surrounds us, come, let us look one another in the face. But the truth is, we are afraid to look at it. Yet, it will one day push itself upon our notice. We must open our eyes. We may shut them and keep them so, but this will lead us on to a destructive precipice. By the agency of this evil, unless we open our eyes, this country must one day be lost in a whirlwind. We are now the happiest people on earth, save for this fretting leprosy, which is creeping over our land. This enormous empire of blacks rising up and putting on daily strength, having the shadow of liberty without the substance, is enough to make our children's children turn pale.

"4th. Lucrative. By the success of this scheme our country will be enriched. The free blacks constitute a material spoke in that wheel which is crushing down the wealth of our land. The moment we carry this plan into vigorous prosecution, we shall call many of our countrymen to a state of comparative wealth. The removal of the annual increase of our coloured population, would give to our mariners a considerable scope of employment, whilst the trade of the Colony would be a source of profit. It would remove the evil which is daily impoverishing our land, and bring tens of thousands to the enjoyment of comforts which they never before possessed.

"5th. This scheme is philanthropic. Its most implacable enemies have done full justice to the pure motives of its upholders. None dare impeach a philanthropy which is seeking to become acquainted with the profound degradation and wretchedness of our coloured population. We freely acknowledge that Howard was a philanthropist; but what was the philanthropy of Howard, compared with that which is seeking to re-establish the liberties of a continent—to fix watchmen round its coast, and send over it the pure light of Christianity!

"6th. It is a patriotic scheme. Patriotism does not consist in delivering a fine speech on the fourth day of July. Nor does it consist in loud professions of equality to voters who are reeling towards the polls. Popularity should result from a conscientious performance of all our duties, moral, civil, political, and religious, and not from familiarity with the vicious and intemperate. He is the best patriot who feels most deeply the evils which afflict his country, who wrestles against such evils, and breasts the overwhelming tide of immorality and corruption.

"7th. It is an expeditious scheme. Its opposers have charged it with slowness and a want of despatch. But do they expect to remove the world, without getting ready for the operation? How much quicker are their devices for our relief? It has been but a short time since the Editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* published Mrs. Hemans's song of Emigra-

tion. Let him compare that beautiful effusion with the present state of our Colony, and answer whether all its imaginative pictures have not been realized.

"8th. This is a national scheme. We are preparing to take it up in a national way. It has about it those lofty attributes which render it worthy the attention of enlarged and expanded minds. Upon no other has the nation ever bestowed a thought. New England has manifested a willingness to aid in a plan, which will not only remove an evil, but diffuse Christianity over a continent. One of her distinguished Legislators has pledged himself to sustain any measure before Congress, which shall be brought forward by any prudent friend of Colonization.

"Lastly. This scheme is pleasing to God. He has not broken the silence of the heavens, to speak in its favour, nor commanded his angels to chant over the song of good will to men, but his approbation has not been withheld. The plan has been conducted with a reference to his authority. The moral and religious good, as well as the civil and political elevation of the Colonists, has been interwoven with all the movements of the managers. God has predicted that Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands to him. She is now stretching out her hand to implore blessings from heaven, and to beckon away her children from the house of bondage to her maternal bosom."

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The Editor of the Vermont Chronicle, in a very able article designed to impress upon the public, the importance of taking up collections for the Society on the fourth instant, or on some Sabbath near to it, has the following remarks. We ought, here, perhaps to state, that Mr. Burr's legacy to the Society, *is one thousand dollars a year for five years*, and that two years at least must elapse, before the first payment can be realized.

"There is not, we believe, another benevolent enterprise on earth, so well calculated to secure the favourable opinion and enlist the hearty good will of ALL MEN, as this is, when its objects and bearings are fully understood. In relation to this Society it is eminently the fact, that opposition and indifference have their origin in prejudice or want of information. Ignorance may raise an objection which it requires knowledge to remove; and to rest one's refusal to co-operate in what he is told is a good work, on his own ignorance, is both weak and wicked. Especially in relation to a benevolent enterprise of such magnitude as this, and which has been some ten or fifteen years before the public, the plea of ignorance is made with very ill grace.

"The Society very much needs the avails of the proposed contributions. The expense of sending out the large number of emigrants who left this

country last year, was of course great; and the ability of the Society to send any emigrants during the coming autumn, depends very much on what shall be done on the Fourth of July.—We have heard it hinted that the Legacies of the late Mr. Burr will diminish the receipts of this and some other societies, from the usual sources. We cannot believe it—we cannot think the Christian public so ungrateful. The intention of Mr. Burr was to *augment* the resources of these Societies—to increase them to the full amount of his bequests; and any man who withholds a dollar on account of these bequests, does just so much towards defeating the object of them; it is in fact neither more nor less than putting so much of the legacy in his own pocket. Whether that can be done righteously or not, may be safely left to each one's conscience.—Besides, these legacies, it is said, and we presume truly, will not be available immediately—perhaps not, to their full amount, for several years. But, be that as it may, duties are not to be discharged by proxy; Mr. Burr attended to *his own*; he was not so much of a Papist as to think of purchasing *Indulgences* for a whole community.”

We have just perused a Review of our last two Reports, in the Christian Spectator, made up, in great part, of a concise history of the origin and proceedings of the Society. The concluding remarks of this article are very impressive, and we hope they will be read and remembered. Surely it is time that the great work of benevolence which commands our humble efforts, should receive the support of every friend to our country, religion, or mankind. We give a single extract from this review.\*

“In reference to this great cause, we think that the *Christian* public have a most solemn duty to perform. With all the civil talent and philanthropic enterprise, enlisted in it, we believe that it will no more than partially secure its objects, unless the devoted friends of the Redeemer, throughout the land, give it their earnest and persevering support. Let the Christians of the North be fully enlightened in regard to their duty, and their hearts will be touched with compassion, and the mists of prejudice will vanish, and the rancor of sectional feeling will die away. The interests of this whole country will be embraced within the ample range of vision. The

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\* We would correct an error in this review. “The Montserado river is three hundred miles in length, being the largest African river from the Rio Grande to the Congo.” This is a mistake. The Montserado is a very small river, but about forty miles long, probably much less than even the St. Paul’s or the St. John’s, and certainly less than several others between the above named rivers.



claims of the children of Africa are somewhat peculiar. The unevangelized heathen nations implore our pity as members of the human family, and as partakers of gospel light, but their misery is an effect of their own sin. We are in duty bound to enlighten and save them, but this duty results from an obligation of gratitude to God, rather than from an uncanceled debt to them. But Africa—the sin is not at her door. Her cup of misery is not of her own mingling. This country has helped to do it. With the light of nature on her path, she has outraged nature. With the New Testament in her hand, she has broken its plainest rules. When the wail of the dying African comes to her ear, conscience within her bosom ought to disturb and arouse her. Would every Christian in this country enlighten his conscience, he would feel that himself and his fellow Christians are debtors to Africa to a tremendous amount—tremendous, for no repentance can now cancel it; in the archives of eternity the full records are sealed.

“To achieve the redemption of Africa, there is required Christianity—the zeal of Christianity in its highest and holiest exercise. There has been, and there will be, it is not denied, a great deal of feeling. But how can it be otherwise. Man was made to feel, and on all proper occasions he must manifest his feelings. And here it will be recollected, that there have been, and that there are strong temptations to feel. When the slave trade is first unfolded to a person’s mind there is a horror in it, enough to turn the streams of life backward. It is too incomprehensible to shudder at. It is like opening the eyes of a blind man on an immense hospital, or like taking off four feet from the surface of a burying ground. But terrible as this exhibition of depravity has been, laying open, as it does, all the fountains of feeling, still the pure and exalted motives of Christianity have actuated, and ought to actuate the labourers in this benevolence. Thomas Clarkson said he devoted his life to the abolition of the slave trade, “because he thought it was God’s will.” The same noble motive urged on in their glorious career, Wilberforce, Macauley, and a thousand subordinate agents in Great Britain. And in our own country, Mills, and Caldwell, and Sessions, who, for the good of Africa, loved not their own lives, bore ample witness to the disinterested spirit of the gospel. This gospel will put a final end to the slave trade and slavery. Its provisions are broad as the wants of the human family, and mightier than the whole array of man’s prejudice and sin.

“We cannot bring ourselves to a close without saying to the particular friends of this cause, that their services were never more needed than at the present time. There are a few individuals, scattered through the country, who have given to this subject a thorough investigation, who have surveyed the whole ground, and who, like the prophet in the visions of God, as they have seen one abomination after another, have had their inmost souls moved within them at the wretchedness and guilt of man. Upon such persons rests a fearful weight of responsibility. They can spread

through the respective communities in which they are situated, valuable and correct information in regard to the nature and extent of the evils which the Colonization Society will remedy. They can shape and mould public opinion. They can act as telegraphic signals from one end of this land to the other. They can impress upon the southern slave-holder, by the strength of facts, and by the recorded declarations of honest men, that the objects of the Colonization Society are altogether pure and praiseworthy, and that it has no intention to open the door to universal liberty, but only to cut out a channel, where the merciful providence of God may cause those dark waters to flow off. The Colonization Society needs fast and efficient friends—men whose minds are stored full of well arranged information, who are inspired by a feeling of personal responsibility abiding on them and becoming a part of their identity, to do all in their power for the redemption of our country from the heaviest curse with which it is afflicted.

“And what is done ought to be done *quickly*. The slave population is swelling its numbers in a tremendously increasing ratio. Since the morning of our last happy national jubilee broke over our land, more than *thirty thousand* have been born within our borders, to be slaves till they die. In the domestic trade, more than eighty thousand have been bought and sold. The two millions of minds, which have been kept in ignorance and debasement, will soon be four millions—and eight millions.”



## Account of Dahomy.

Dahomy is a fertile and cultivated country; the soil is a deep, rich, reddish clay, intermixed with sand, scarcely containing a stone of the size of an egg in the whole country. It is extremely productive of maize, millet, beans, yams, potatoes, cassada, plantain, and the banana; indigo, cotton, tobacco, palm-oil, and sugar are raised, as well as a species of black pepper. Bread, and a species of liquor, or rather diluted gruel, are formed of the lotus berry. Animals, both wild and tame, are numerous, and the lakes abound in fish. The maritime districts of Whidah and Ardra, before they were ruined by the Dahomans, were highly cultivated and beautiful. “The vast number and variety of tall and spreading trees,” says Smith, “seeming as if they had been planted for decoration, fields of the most lively verdure, almost wholly devoted to culture; plains embellished with a multitude of towns and villages, placed in full view of the surrounding district; a gradual and almost imperceptible ascent to

the distance of forty or fifty miles from the sea, which terminates the prospect;—formed the most picturesque scene imaginable, unobstructed by hill or mountain.” The Ardranese had attained such a degree of civilization, that they were able to correspond with each other by a species of *quippos*, similar to the Peruvian, and formed by the combination of knots upon a cord, to which particular significations were attached.

The character of the Daumanese, or Dahomans, is original and strongly marked; they have retained peculiar manners, and have had little intercourse with either Europeans or Moors.—They exhibit the germ of peculiar institutions and modifications of manners, that have appeared incredible to modern nations when they perused the ancient records of the Egyptians, Hindûs, and Lacedemonians. Like the Lacedemonians, they display a singular mixture of ferocity and politeness, of generosity and cruelty. Their conduct towards strangers is hospitable, without any mixture of rudeness or insult. Their appearance is manly, and their persons strong and active; and though they are less addicted to the practice of tattowing than their neighbours, their countenance rather displays ferocity than courage. Their government is the purest despotism: every subject is a slave; and every slave implicitly admits the right of the sovereign to dispose of his property and of his person. “I think of my king,” said a Dahoman to Mr. Norris, “and then I dare engage five of the enemy myself. My head belongs to the king, not to myself: if he please to send for it, I am ready to resign it; or if it be shot through in battle, I am satisfied—if it be in his service.” This attachment continues unshaken, even when their nearest relations become the victims of the avarice or caprice of the king, and his enormities are always attributed to their own indiscretions. With this devoted spirit, the Dahoman rushes fearless into battle, and fights as long as he can wield his sabre. In 1775, when the viceroy of Whidah was disgraced, one of the military officers declared, “that it was his duty to accompany the general to the field; and if ever he betrayed the least symptom of cowardice, or showed the soles of his feet to the enemy, he hoped the king would have his cutlass ready to behead him, at the moment of his return. But this,” said he, “will never happen; for, should I ever suspect that I am accused of treache-

ry, of turning my back on the foe, or giving cause of complaint, I shall never afford the prime minister an opportunity of asking impertinent questions, or of interfering between me and my sovereign; I prefer death at any time." Soon afterwards, this officer found himself left almost alone in his post, after detaching the flower of his troops to the assistance of his companions.—Perceiving that it was impossible to retrieve affairs, at the approach of the enemy he called for his *large stool*, or chair, dismissed his attendants, sat down, and singly awaited the attack. When the enemy advanced, he stood up and fired his musket till he was surrounded, when he drew his sabre, and rushed into the thickest ranks, where, after killing numbers, he was overpowered and taken prisoner. The king of Dahomy, who highly approved of his conduct, paid his ransom, but he refused to return, and observing to the messenger, that, "though he might perhaps be the most ugly of his majesty's subjects, yet there were none more loyal,"—stabbed himself with his sword.—Another Dahoman general, being about to engage the Popoes, with a very inferior force, drank success to the arms of his king, and, dashing the glass to pieces, wished, "that if he was unsuccessful, he might not survive the disgrace, but perish like the glass which he broke." The metaphors and idiomatical expressions of this nation have generally a reference to their *bodily strength* and the *sharpness* of their swords. The significant titles which the king assumes, are termed his *strong* names.—When the king prohibits the minstrels from entering upon a disagreeable subject, he announces that the topic is too *strong* for him. The modern history of the Dahomans realizes all that history has recorded of ancient Lacedemon, and of those Lacedemonians of the north, the inhabitants of Jomsburgh, who were forbidden to mention the name of *Fear*, even in the most imminent dangers, and who proudly declared that they would fight their enemies, though they were stronger than the Gods. Saxo relates, that when Frotho, king of Denmark, was taken prisoner in battle, he obstinately refused to accept of life, declaring, that the restoration of his kingdom and treasures could never restore his honour, but that future ages would always say, *Frotho has been taken by his enemy*. The palace of the king of Dahomy is an extensive building of bamboo and mud-walled huts, surround-

ed by a mud-wall about twenty feet high, enclosing a quadrangular space of about a mile square. The entrance to the king's apartment is *paved with human skulls*, the lateral walls adorned with human jaw-bones, with a few bloody heads intermixed at intervals. The whole building resembles a number of farm-yards, with long thatched barns and sheds for cattle, intersected with low mud-walls. On the thatched roofs, numerous human skulls are ranged at intervals, on small wooden stakes. In allusion to these, when the king issues orders for war, he only announces to his general, *that his house wants thatch*. In this palace, or *large house*, as it is termed by the Dahomans, above 3000 females are commonly immured, and about 500 are appropriated by each of the principal officers. From this injurious and detestable practice, originate many flagrant abuses; the population is diminished, the sources of private happiness destroyed, and the best feelings of human nature being outraged, the energies of passion are converted into bitterness and ferocity. The first of these evils is the establishment of a legal system of prostitution, as a considerable proportion of the inferior classes are unable to procure wives. As children, whether male or female, are considered the exclusive property of the king, they are separated from their parents at an early period, and receive a species of public education, by which means family connexions are annihilated, and the insulated individual becomes a passive instrument of tyrannical power.—When an individual is able to procure 20,000 cowries, he prostrates himself at the gate of the king, or his vicegerent, presents the money, and begs to be favoured with a wife; when, instead of having the opportunity of selecting a natural friend, suited to his taste, and adapted to gratify the affections of his heart, he must take the female assigned him, whether she be old or young, handsome or deformed. Sometimes, out of malicious sport, a man's own mother is handed out to him, so that he both misses a wife and loses his money. In 1775 the viceroy of Whidah was disgraced and punished with death, for the following speech, extorted by indignation at a procession of the king's women.—“Ah! see what a number of charming women are devoted to the embraces of one man! while we who bore the dangers of the siege of Whidah, and defeated Abavou and his army, have been

presented with such as are hardly good enough for house-sweepers. It is ungenerous, but we are Dahoman men, and must submit." The king's female guard seems in some measure to explain the origin of the ancient opinion concerning the Amazons. Some hundreds of the king's women are regularly trained to the use of arms, under a female general, and subordinate officers appointed by his majesty. They are regularly exercised, perform their military evolutions with as great dexterity as any of the Dahoman troops, and parade in public with their standards, drums, trumpets, flutes, and martial music. It is criminal for any Dahoman to assert, that the king is so similar to other mortals, as either to eat or sleep. At his accession, he proclaims that he knows nobody, and is not inclined to make any new acquaintance; that he will administer justice with a rigorous and impartial hand, but will listen to no representations, nor receive any presents, except from his officers, who approach him groveling in the dust. The Dahomans maintain the true doctrine of passive obedience, and the divine right of kings, in the utmost purity; and their history exhibits no example of a deposition.—At his accession, the king *walks in blood* from the palace to the grave of his predecessor, and annually *waters the graves of his ancestors with the blood of human victims*. The death of the king is only announced by fearful shrieks, which spread like lightning from the palace to the extremities of Dahomy, and become the signal for anarchy, rapine, and murder, which continue till the new king ascends the throne. The religion of Dahomy is vague and uncertain in its principles, and rather consists in the performance of some traditionary ceremonies, than in any fixed system of belief, or of moral conduct. They believe more firmly in their amulets and fetiches, than in the Deity; their national fetiche is *the Tiger*; and their habitations are decorated with ugly images, tinged with blood, stuck with feathers, besmeared with palm-oil, and bedaubed with eggs. As their ideas of Deity do not coincide with those of Europeans, they imagine that their tutelary gods are different. "Perhaps," said a Dahoman chief to Snelgrave, "that God may be yours, who has communicated so many extraordinary things to white men; but as that God has not been pleased to make himself known to us, we must be satisfied with this we worship." The Dahomans manu-

facture and dye cotton cloth, and form a species of cloth of palm-leaves. They are tolerably skilful in working in metals. The bards, who celebrate the exploits of the king and his generals, are likewise the historians of the country. Their historical poems, which are rehearsed on solemn occasions, occupy several days in the recital. These may probably compare with the legends of Ossian, and of the Irish, Gaelic, and Welsh bards. It is probable that the legends of Dahomy are equally authentic with these; for, in every rude age, it is the interest of the bards not to touch upon subjects *too strong* for their respective chiefs. The Persian Hafez would have been put to death by Tamerlane, merely for preferring, like a true inamorato, the charms of his mistress to the gold of Bokhara, and the gems of Samarcand, had he not saved himself by an ingenious quibble, to prove a various reading. How much authentic history may we then derive from oral and poetical legends! The Dahomans, though they do not use human flesh as an article of food, yet devour the flesh of human victims as a religious ceremony, at their solemn feasts; and their ancient practice seems to be marked by their ordinary phrase of *eating their enemies*, by which they denote *taking them alive*. Though the martial genius of the Dahomans remains unaltered, their military exploits have not been remarkable since the reign of Guadja Trudo, the conqueror of Whida Ardra, Torree, Didouma, Ajirah, and Jacquin, who died in 1731.—Guadja Trudo was almost as good a conqueror as any barbarian that was ever dignified with that appellation. He waded to glory through seas of blood, I am not sure if we may call it innocent; if he did not exhibit true magnanimity, he always displayed what is equally good for a conqueror, a true belligerent insensibility to the miseries of his own, and of every other nation; and, when he could not lead the Dahomans, he drove them to victory. His policy was that of an ambitious savage, who sought to retain the territory he had conquered, by burning the towns, and massacring the inhabitants; but his views were more extensive than those of his countrymen, and the character given of him by Snelgrave appears to be just; who declares, that he found him the most extraordinary man of his colour with whom he had ever conversed. His fame still remains in Dahomy, where his memory is revered, and where, in the most solemn

oaths, they swear by his name. Bossa Ahadee, and Adahoonzou, the son and grandson of Trudo, possessed the same restless ambitious spirit, without his martial talents.—[*Dr. Leyden.*



## Remarks on the Course and Termination of the Niger.

In our last number we stated various theories which have been adopted in reference to the course and termination of this remarkable stream. No one of these has been supported with so much learning and ingenuity, as that of Major Rennel, who believed that the Niger terminates in lakes, situated in a country called Wangara, in the eastern quarter of Africa. The recent discoveries of Denham and Clapperton, have however, shown this theory to be entirely unfounded. Indeed, it appears from Major Denham, that there is no such country as Wangara. His words are, "I met with two Moors only, besides Khalifa, who were able to explain the meaning of the word; they all agreed that there was no such place; and I am inclined to believe the following account will be found to be truth. All gold countries, as well as any people coming from the gold country, or bringing Gooroo nuts, are called Wangara. Bambarra is called Wangara; also all merchants from Gonga, Gombeeron, Ashantee, &c." Besides, the great lake Tchad, was found by Denham and Clapperton, in the *very region* where Major Rennel had laid down Wangara. This is from 12 to 15° N. lat., and from 14 to 17° E. lon., or thereabouts. Captain Clapperton visited Sackatoo, more than five hundred miles west of lake Tchad, (lat. 13° 4' 52" N., E. long. 6° 12'), and there learnt that the Quarra or Niger, was but four days' journey to the west, or judging from the longitude, somewhat less than one hundred miles. The theory of Major Rennel then must be rejected. But of the several others which have been adopted, is any, and if so, which is probably the true one? If none of them can be maintained, can any one be proposed, for which better arguments may be adduced?



Although we have carefully and anxiously examined, all the books and maps, which seemed to promise any information concerning the course and termination of the Niger, and compared their different testimonies and representations, we have found it no easy matter, to satisfy our own minds on the subject. It is plain however, that the Niger after passing Tombuctoo, which most have agreed in placing between 15 and 17° N. latitude, and between 1 and 2° East longitude, takes a southwestern course, until it nearly reaches the 5° degree of E. long., that bending still more to the south, it reaches Yaory or Yeouri, (where Park lost his life,) and that passing nearly in the same direction it soon enters a country called Noofee or *Nyffe*, near the Kong mountains. By the journal of Denham and Clapperton too, it is proved that the place assigned to *Nyffe*, on the maps preceding theirs, is incorrect, as they visited this place and found it not, but heard of it to the southwest, and as they had good means of information, and could not have been many hundred miles from it, the latitude and longitude which they have given, may be regarded we think, as not far from the truth.

Nothing, perhaps, can aid us more in forming a judgment in relation to the course and termination of the Niger, than a comparison of the accounts received by Mr. Bowdich, while in Ashantee, and Gaboon (below the Bight of Benin), with those of Messrs. Denham and Clapperton, while in Haussa or Howssa. As all these gentlemen sought information from every possible source; as they examined the Moorish travellers with the utmost strictness and perseverance; as it was a leading object with them to ascertain the truth on this subject; we think the statements of either of them, without the other, would be entitled to considerable credit; *but if we find their statements in the main, to agree, we can only account for it by supposing them founded on facts.* Of course it is but in their great outlines, that these accounts if true, can be expected to agree, nor can any incongruity between them in smaller matters, invalidate their testimony in reference to those more important.

If, as Mr. Bowdich was informed, the river known to Mr. Park at Sego and D'jinnie or Jenne, as the Niger, divides itself into three branches at or near Tombuctoo, (which we think improbable,) it must evidently be the *largest* branch to which

the name of Niger has been given, both by the ancients and moderns; and this must be the stream, from all accounts, which enters Nyffe. It is remarkable that the Niger should have been invariably described by the Moors at Ashantee, as "dividing itself near Tombuctoo into 2 large streams; the Quolla, the greater, pursuing its course south-eastward until it joined the *Bahr Abiad*, (the principal branch of the Nile,) and the other branch running northward of east, near Tombuctoo, and dividing itself soon afterwards, the smaller stream running northwards by Yahooodee, a place of great trade, and the latter running to the lake Caude or Cadi, under the name Gambaroo; and that Captain Clapperton should have found a river called *Gambaroo*, (at some distance from the lake, nearly as wide as the *Thames at Richmond*) flowing from a little south of west into the lake Tchad. It is evident from this that the Ashantee Moors had some knowledge of the remote interior; and if the Gambaroo is not a branch of the Niger, is it strange, considering its size and direction, that it should be thought so? Let us then compare the accounts given to Messrs. Denham and Clapperton in the interior, east of the Niger, with those received by Mr. Bowdich at Ashantee, on the west.

Maj Denham saw a young teacher (Abdel Gassam) from D'jinie and Tombuctoo, who remembered Mr. Park's expedition, and who said the river which passes Tombuctoo is large, called Quolla, and he always understood that it *had many names and branches*, and that it went from *Nyffe* south through *high mountains*. This testimony Major Denham thinks may be relied on.

On his expedition to Mandara, latitude N. 12°, longitude E. 15°, a man called Kaid Moussa Ben Yusuf, told Major Denham that he had been twenty days south of Mandara, to a country called *Adamowa*. He described with great clearness a river running from the west between two high ridges of mountains, which he declared to be the same as the *Quolla or Quorra, at Nyffe and Rakah*, and that the main body of the water ran on to the south of *Begharmi*, (latitude N. 12°, E. longitude 18°,) that it was there called D'Ago and went eastward to the Nile.— This man was intelligent, and had visited Nyffe, Rakah, Waday, and *Darfur*, by the latter of which he said this river passed.

The above statements agree well with the map laid down for

Captain Clapperton by Bello, Sultan of Sackatoo, who after giving to a large river a southern direction from Tombuctoo to below *Nyffe*, and then conducting it eastward, writes: "*This is the Kowara, which reaches Egypt, and is called the Nile.*" 'Tis true Captain Clapperton informs us, that on his expedition to Sackatoo, he saw a lad who stated that he had travelled south from Laborge in *Nyffe*, having crossed the Quorra, fourteen days, along the banks of the river, until they were within four days of the sea, but where the river entered he knew not; and Sultan Bello also drew on the sand the course of the Quarra, which by his account, ran parallel to the sea coast for several days, being in some places a few hours, in others a day's journey distant from it. He wished a road cut to *Rakah* if vessels should not be able to navigate the river. Query, what river? Certainly some other than *Kowara*, which is by the Sultan himself identified with the *Quolla* or *Niger* until it passes *Nyffe*, but then runs eastward until its junction with the Nile, and of course cannot below *Rakah* enter the ocean.

Let us now attend to some of the statements of Mr. Bowdich. The *junction of the Quolla*, he observes, with the *Bahr Abiad* or *Nile*, cannot be more descriptively expressed, according to every account I received, than in the words of Mr. Horneman: "Some days past, I spoke to a man who had seen Mr. Brown in Darfoor; he told me that the *communication of the Niger with the Nile was not to be doubted*, but that this communication before the rainy season was very little."

The following is the course of the *Quolla*, as reported to Mr. Bowdich: "From Yaoora or Youri (where I should judge it was three miles wide) one journey eastward of Yaoora it passes *Nooffie* or *Nyffe*, three journeys thence Boussa, (mentioned by Amadi Fatouma, as it was to me, as the place of Mr. Park's death,) twelve journeys thence it passes Atagara, but previously Hoome and *Rakah*. Farther thirty journeys it flows through the kingdom of Quolloraba,\* which falls precisely where Major Rennel has laid down the kingdom of Kulla, thirty-one journeys

\* The Jenne Moor, who reported to Mr. Hutchison, traces the course from Yaoora thus: Boussa, Gange, Wawa, Noofa, Quollaliffa, Atagara: the only difference being the position of the latter place, possibly an error of mine, as the name Atagara was not noticed in the charts I made the Moor draw, but only in the more particular enumerations of the countries the

thence the Quolla received the river Sharee, from the north.—The Quolla was said to pass to the southward of *Bagarrime*, (the *Bagherme* of Mr. Brown,) (doubtless the *Begharmi* of Major Denham,) *Fbor or Darfur or Darfoor*, and lastly to form a junction with the *Nile*. It then went through a large country, *Soonar*, (doubtless *Sennaar*) and thence to Egypt.\*

On the subject of the Niger, Mr. Bowdich pursued his inquiries with great zeal and perseverance in the country of Gaboon, (or as the natives term it *Empoongwa*,) latitude  $3^{\circ}$  N., E. long.  $9^{\circ} 23'$ , and here he was told of the river *Wola*, at some distance in the interior, which the Governor pronounced the *largest river in the world*, and added, *all the great rivers in this country come from Wola*. The *Moohnda* or *Danger*, (about  $2^{\circ}$  N. latitude,) he had always understood in the long course of his inquiries to flow from it; but he could not speak so positively of that, as of the junction of the *Ogoowai* (about  $1^{\circ}$  E. longitude) and *Wola*. All the nations on this route were said to be cannibals.

Of this Mr. Bowdich remarks; the *name, situation, magnitude, and course* of the *Wola*, leave little doubt of its being the *Kulla* or *Quolla*. A strong argument, in addition to the above, for the *Wola* and the *Quolla* being the same river, (recollecting the description that all the nations on the line of the *Moohnda* are cannibals,) is suggested by the reperusal of the following remarks of Mr. Horneman and Mr. Hutchison. "The *Yem Yems*, cannibals, are south of *Kano* ten days, which agrees very well with the leeward course of the Niger, which I have been compelled to lay down."

If we place reliance upon the reports collected by Mr. Bowdich during his visit at Gaboon, we shall be compelled wellnigh to *abandon the Congo hypothesis*. The *Ogoowai* was invariably represented as proceeding from the *Wola*, and as subsequently dividing itself, the smaller branch running to cape Lopez, the

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*Quolla* passed, the names of which I minuted from their utterance, and afterwards attached their remarks as interpreted to me.

The *Jenne Moor* calls this *Quollaliffa*—Mr. Hutchison had a servant a native of it. "It is to the king of *Quollaliffa* that the country in which *Canna Dall* and *Yum Yum*, where cannibals are, is subject. Mr. Horneman mentions *Yem Yems Cannibals*, south of *Cano* ten days."

\* It is remarkable that Mr. Hutchison writes the course according to the *Jenne Moor* from *Atagara* thus: "*Maffagoodoo, Sharee, lake Chadec*, (Shary or lake Tchad,) *Phorr*, (beginning of Arabs) *Wudey*." This agrees entirely with accounts received by Major Denham."

larger flowing south-eastward, through the country of Tanyan, and falling into the Congo, which is comparatively small before the confluence. This account of the slaves and traders was confirmed by the statement of a very intelligent man, who spoke English fluently, and acted as interpreter to vessels that visit the Gaboon. He had been up the Congo, and to the last moment persisted that just beyond a fall, which he described, is the confluence of the Ogoowai and Congo.\*

Rakah is placed on the map of Denham and Clapperton in lat. about  $9^{\circ}$  N., and E. long.  $5^{\circ}$ , and whatever may be the course of the Niger, we cannot doubt that there is communication by one or more rivers, between this place and the Bight of Benin.

This seems evident from the passage above quoted, in which the Sultan Bello offers to give the King of England a place on the coast, on condition that a road be cut to Rakah, provided the vessels are unable to navigate the river. Besides we are informed that the imports into Sackatoo are Gooroo nuts, brought from the borders of Ashantee; and coarse calico and woollen cloth in small quantities, with brass and pewter dishes, and some few spices from Nyffe. Captain Clapperton writes Rakah is a place of great trade between the interior and the coast, and all kinds of European goods, such as beads, woollen and cotton cloth, pewter and copper dishes, gunpowder, rum, &c. are to be had there in exchange for slaves. During my stay in Sackatoo, provisions were regularly sent me from the Sultan's table on pewter dishes with the London stamp, and one day I had a piece of meat served up in a white wash-hand-basin of English manufacture. The distance from Rakah to the Bight of Benin, is according to Clapperton, but about 200 miles, and from this as well as the statements concerning its trade, we should judge it almost certain that these articles must have been carried from the latter through the former place.

To our minds then, the probability is, that the Niger under the several names of the Joliba, Quolla or Quarra, Wola and

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\* The information received here (at Mawoonda,) of the upward course of the river (Congo,) was more distinct than any we have yet had; all the persons whom we spoke to agreeing, that after ten days in a canoe, we should come to a large sandy island which makes two channels, one to the north-west, and the other to the north-east, that in the latter there is a fall, but that canoes are easily got above it; that twenty days above the island, the river issues by many small streams from a great marsh or lake of mud.

[Captain Tuckey's narrative of a voyage to the Congo]

*Kowara*, in its main stream reaches the Bahr Abiad or Nile, but that from it one or more branches descend to the Bight of Benin and the Gaboon; perhaps entering the former through the Volta, the Bonny, the Rio Del Rey or Formoso, and the latter by the Danger and the Ogoowai; *possibly* through some one or two of these; *possibly* through all. What it loses in this way, may be partially at least, made up by the accession of other rivers from the north, some of which are mentioned by Denham & Clapperton.



## Intelligence.

CAPTAIN CLAPPERTON.—The following particulars of the death of Captain Clapperton, R. N., we have just received from the mouth of Richard Lander, his servant, who attended him in his last moments.

It was on the 13th of April, 1827, at 6 o'clock in the morning, that this intrepid traveller breathed his last at the city of Sackatoo, about fifteen days journey from Tombuctoo. His illness lasted 32 days. As we stated yesterday, the complaint by which he was lost to the world, was dysentery. He appears to have been perfectly aware of his approaching fate, was quite resigned to it, and died in the arms of his servant, without a struggle. The Captain was thirty-eight years of age.

It is consoling to know, that in the trying circumstances in which he was placed, oppressed by consuming illness, in a foreign land, he did not lose sight of the value of the consolations of Religion. Every Sunday morning he caused Lander to read to him the prayers used in the Service of the Church of England, and frequently occupied himself in other acts of devotion.

When the Captain was no more, our informant washed the remains of his master, and wrapped a clean sheet round his body, which he subsequently enclosed in a blanket, and the whole in a piece of matting, coffins not being known in that country.

The body was then carried on the back of a camel, and conveyed to a grave, which had been prepared for its reception by Lander, and some of the Captain's black slaves, in a small garden in the village of Jaungany, 5 miles to the southeast of Sackatoo. The camel was led by one of the slaves. The remains were followed to their resting place by four others, and by the faithful domestic from whom we have obtained this account.—On lowering the body into the grave, the Union Jack was waved over it by Lander, and the Burial Service was then read by the same individual.

While he remained at Sackatoo the natives treated him with the greatest respect. During his last illness his wants were imperfectly provided for, owing to the barbarous state of that society, in which he was destined to close his career. Chicken broth and boiled milk and rice, were the articles of sustenance which were supplied. Beer or wine was not to be obtained.

Major Laing was reported to have perished in December, 1825. This is fully refuted, as a letter was received by his wife at Tripoli, dated Feb. 1826, from a village but a short distance from Tombuctoo. In that letter the Major apologised for its brevity, which, he added, was caused by a severe sabre wound on the back of the right hand.—[*London Courier*.

More recent accounts, it seems, have been received by Baron Roger, dated at St. Louis, in Senegal, the 8th of March, of the death of Maj. Laing, near Tombuctoo—a Moor who had arrived there related the circumstances, which receive a melancholy corroboration from the fact, that he is in possession of the papers which belonged to this new victim of African research.—[*Albion*.

*Fernando Po*.—On this Island, which is near the coast of Benin, Africa, and about 60 miles in circumference, a mission has just been established by the Church Missionary Society, with encouraging prospects.—[*Vt. Chron*.

### **Intelligence from Mr. Ashmun.**

Since our last number, two letters have been received from the Colonial Agent, Mr. Ashmun, dated on the 8th and 18th of June, at Basse Terre, in the Island of St. Christophers. The first written by the hand of a friend represents him as extremely low, and indulging but little hope of a recovery. The last, it will be seen, however, is of a much more favourable character.

*Basse Terre, St. Christophers, June 18, 1828.—Monday.*

DEAR SIR: I have to acknowledge the Divine Mercy, which, contrary to all my apprehensions, and the expectations of friends, has again restored me to a state of very hopeful convalescence. My lingering and complicated disorders, seem to have arrived at a crisis about the 10th instant. I did but survive. But, since that date, have been by degrees recovering.—Should I escape those relapses, to which persons in my reduced state are extremely liable, I think I shall be strong enough in ten days to re-embark for the United States. It is my intention (*Deo volente*), to return to St. Barts the last of the present week, where I shall look out for the earliest conveyance. My last was written by the hand of a friend, and my strength is only equal to the effort which has produced this note. But every day—every hour, indeed, I feel an accession of fresh vigour. I want little except gratitude properly to acknowledge so great and unexpected a favour.

With entire respect and esteem, Dear Sir, Yours,

Rev. R. R. GURLEY, S. A. C. S.

J. ASHMUN.

P. S. Since this form has been composed, intelligence has reached us from Mr. Ashmun, under date the 9th of July.—Though very low, he was somewhat better, and was to sail for New Haven, Connecticut, on the 16th instant.

## To Auxiliaries and Agents.

It is important, that whenever new Auxiliaries are established the fact should be immediately communicated to the Parent Institution, with a full and correct list of the officers of such societies. We shall be much gratified, likewise, to receive accounts of the Annual Meetings of Auxiliary Institutions, and copies of the Reports which may be made on such occasions. Should changes take place in regard to the Officers of Auxiliary Societies, lists of which have already been transmitted to us, we hope to receive due notice of such changes, that the account of such societies may be correctly published in our Annual Reports.



## Fourth of July Collections.

The list of Contributions in the present number, will show that we have already begun to receive the collections which were taken up in behalf of our cause in several churches on or about the Fourth of July. We fear, however, that but few congregations comparatively, have thus lent their aid to our cause; and those who have not, *may be reminded that it is not yet too late for them to unite in this holy work of charity.* The pecuniary wants of our Institution were never more pressing than at this moment, and we must say to all who feel an interest in our scheme, that *without their prompt and energetic exertions, no expeditions can be fitted out for Liberia the present year.*



## Contributions

*To the American Col. Soc. from the 1st to the 20th July, 1828.*

By an "Alexandrian," .....	\$10 00
" Th. P. Wilson, Esq. Rockville, Md. ....	10 00
" Richard Harrison, Esq. Washington, D. C. ....	10 00
" Robt. Ware, Esq. of Tappahannock, Va. per Mr. J. C. Dunn, ..	5 00
" Gerard Morgan, Esq. of Harrisonburg, Va. per ditto. ....	5 00
By Rev. Mr. M'Kenney, per collections by him, as follows, viz:	
In Methodist Church, Smithfield, Va. ....	7 91
In do called Ben's meeting house, ....	7 64
In Millswamp, Baptist Church, .....	6 50
	<hr/>
	22 05
Carried forward,	\$62 05



		<i>Brought forward,</i>	\$62 (
“ Mr. Grove Wright, Agent in New York, for the following collections, viz:—			
In Rev. Mr. Sandford's Church, Brooklyn, .....	70		
In Rev. Mr. Cox's Church, city of New York, .....	56		
In Presbyterian Church, Elizabethtown, New Jersey, .....	25		
In Presbyterian Church, Pittsfield, Mass. ....	29	33	
In Presbyterian Church, Chenango Point, N. Y. ....	6	67—187	0
By Morning Star Lodge, No. 196, Mercersburg, Pa. per			
Rev. David Elliot, .....	10		
Collection in Presbyterian Church, Upper West, Conoco-			
chague, Mercersburg, Pa. per ditto, .....	13—	23	
Collections in 1st Presbyterian Church, Washington, D. C. per.			
Rev. Mr. Post, .....	17	16	
Do. in Methodist Episcopal Church, Leesburg, Va. per.			
Rev. Ch. B. Tippet, .....	40	13	
Do. in Presbyterian and German Reformed Churches, Har-			
risburg, Pa. after a sermon by Rev. Wm. R. Dewit, .....	24	16	
Do. in Elmira, Troy County, N. Y. in Methodist Church,			
Rev. E. O. Flyng, .....	11		
Do. in 1st Presbyterian Church, Erie, Pa. per George Sel-			
den, Esq. Tr. ....	17		
Do. by Auxiliary Society, Zanesville and Putnam,			
Ohio, after Addresses by Rev. James Culbertson,			
and M. T. Ewnig, Esq. ....	30		
Contributed by said Society, .....	1		
		31	
Do. in Congregational Church, Great Barrington, Mass. ..	15		
Do. from Cross Roads Congregation, Washington, Pa. per			
Rev. Elisha Macurdy, .....	20		
Do. in Baptist and Presbyterian congregation, Kingsville,			
Ohio, after a sermon by Rev. Jacob Bailly, and an Address			
by Rev. Wm. Palmer, .....	7		
Do. in Rev. J. D. Knowles' Church, Boston, .....	52		
Do. in Methodist Church, Louisville, Ky. per Rev. W. A.			
Morris, .....	15		
Do. in 2d Presbyterian Church, Washington, per George			
Gilliss, Esq. ....	9	37	
Do. additional in same Church, .....	1	56	
Do. in Baptist and Presbyterian Churches, Montrose, Pa.			
per Wm. Jesup, .....	7		
Do. in Methodist Church, Hillsborough, Ohio, per Rev. J.			
M. Matthews, .....	5		
Do. in Presbyterian Church, Suckasunny, N. J. by Rev.			
Peter Kanonse, .....	7		
Do. from Bedford Congregation, Pa. per Jno. Coyle, Esq.	18		
From the Auxiliary Society Powhatan County, Va. per Wm. H.			
Henning, M. D. ....	50		
From Do. Ashtabula County, Ohio, per Jacob Austin, Esq. Tr.	33		
From Do. Mount Zion, Buckingham County, Va. per James Sta-			
ples, Esq. ....	20		
From Do. Elkton, Ky. ....	150		

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\$822 31

ERROR.—Page 134, 7th line from the top, for “North 30°,” read *North 30'.*

THE  
**AFRICAN REPOSITORY,**  
AND  
**COLONIAL JOURNAL.**

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**VOL. IV.      AUGUST, 1828.      No. 6.**

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**Communication.**

*Report of the Committee of Foreign Relations, in the Senate of the United States, to whom were referred sundry petitions and memorials, and the resolutions of several Legislatures of different States, in relation to the Colonization of Persons of Colour.*

· THIS Report is the avowed production of Mr. Tazewell, of Virginia; and from the unquestionable talents, and the known hostility of that gentleman to the Colonization Society, it would be fair to infer, that in this laboured and (we believe) favourite production of his pen, might be found embodied, all that genius and intolerance could suggest, against a cause in which a large proportion of the best feelings and the best talents of our country have so generously embarked. The Report has accordingly been referred to, and, in some instances, republished with feelings of unmeasured exultation, in those sections of the country, where hostility to the Colonization Society would seem to be the only recognized test of patriotism.

· With due deference, however, to our fellow-citizens of the South, and without meaning to detract, in the smallest degree,

from the reputation of their senatorial champion, we must be pardoned for saying, that, in our humble opinion, this is far from being the most formidable attack to which the Colonization Society has been exposed. Much more powerful batteries have, at different times, been directed against it, and directed, we humbly conceive, by more skilful hands.

Had this Report, then, come to us on the individual responsibility of Mr. Tazewell, high as is his reputation, and great as are his talents, we should probably have passed it without notice.— But it carries with it the sanction of a Committee of the Senate; and the appeal it contains, is officially addressed to the most august legislative body in the Union. We feel impelled; therefore, by the strongest sense of duty, by our high respect for the legislative department of our country, and by an earnest desire to clear away the mist that prejudice is continually attempting to throw around this interesting subject, to invite the attention of our readers to Mr. Tazewell's argument. And we shall be very much mistaken, if a large proportion of them do not concur with us in the opinion, that an opposition to the Colonization Society, resting on the grounds we are about to expose, is very little to be dreaded.

The distinguished individuals to whom we are indebted for the first matured and practical conception of colonizing Africa, by ridding America of an injurious population, gave unequivocal evidence of their own views in relation to the powers and resources necessary for the accomplishment of their magnificent scheme. At the very moment of their organization, they appointed a Committee to solicit the aid of Congress: and similar Committees were appointed, and similar petitions presented, from time to time, with little other hope, (it would seem,) than to keep the public attention alive to the subject, and to show that their ultimate reliance was on national and not on individual resources.

At the eighth and ninth Annual Meetings of the Society, however, the subject was at length taken up, with different and more serious views; and after a long and animated discussion, it was resolved, that memorials should be presented to both Houses of Congress, "praying such aid and assistance to the Society, as they should think proper to afford."

In pursuance of this resolution, memorials were accordingly prepared and presented, and were met by others of similar character, both from state legislatures, and numberless individuals, throughout the country. In the House of Representatives, these memorials were received with the kindest feelings, and were answered by the Committee to whom they were referred, in a report of the most favourable character. Their fate, however, in the Senate, was entirely different; and they were met, as will be seen in the Report before us, by the declaration, that Congress had no power to grant the assistance asked, and that if they had, it would be inexpedient to grant it.

This declaration contains in both its branches, matter of most serious import; and if it can be sustained in *either*, must, of course, throw a cloud over the sanguine anticipations that have been formed in relation to Africa and America. We hope, therefore, to be pardoned for inviting the earnest attention of our readers of every description, to the views we are about to present on this interesting subject.

As far as we can gather from the Report of the Committee, even those of the memorialists who specified the precise sort of aid they desired at the hands of Congress, asked nothing more than the provision of a territory on the Coast of Africa, for the reception of the coloured people of our country, and the appropriation of the necessary funds for aiding them in their removal to it. And yet on both these points, their application is resisted on constitutional grounds.

Of the general right of the Government of the United States to acquire territory, we do not know that we can present our own impression, more strongly, than in the following extracts from the Report of the Committee.

"The acquisition of new territory, no matter where such territory may be situated, or in what mode, or for what purpose, such acquisition may be made, is an exercise of one of the highest powers which any government can ever exert." "All the examples which history furnishes of new territory acquired by any nation, in past time, exhibit but three modes in which such acquisition hath ever been made. These are by discovery, conquest, or negotiation." "Every government charged with the exclusive direction of the exterior relations of the nation for which it was designed, and specially endowed with the general powers of regulating

commerce, of waging war, and of conducting negotiations, must enjoy, as incident to these powers, the right of prosecuting discoveries, of achieving conquests, and of concluding treaties; and, consequently, must enjoy the right of acquiring new territory by any of these means, unless this natural incident of the powers granted is expressly denied to such government, by those who created and so endowed it. The Federal Constitution specially grants to the Government of the United States, all these general powers, and contains no direct inhibition of the right of acquiring new territory, which, as has been said, necessarily and naturally flows from each of them. The Committee, therefore, cannot doubt, that the Government of the United States does possess the right of acquiring new territory, by some of the modes before referred to, whenever the case may occur, to which any of these modes of acquiring new territory is properly applicable. They see, moreover, that the past practice of this government has conformed to this opinion, in the memorable examples of the acquisition of the territory of Louisiana from France, and of Florida from Spain."

We present the above quotations as the most conclusive and unanswerable train of reasoning, on the subject to which they relate; and when we first read them, we felt satisfied, that whatever the Committee might decide, as to the right of appropriation, they entertained no doubt whatsoever, of the right of the Government to acquire the proposed territory. What, then, was our surprise, when at the commencement of the very next paragraph, we encountered the following sentence.

"But while the Committee can readily discern the source of the right asserted by the United States in the cases referred to, and can as distinctly perceive that such a right may, at any time hereafter, be legitimately asserted as an incident and consequence of some of the high powers to which they have referred it, whenever the case may arise to which these powers properly apply, they cannot discover what support this opinion can afford to the legitimate acquisition of the new territory, which is proposed upon the present occasion."

Now we beg the most ingenious and talented of our readers, to peruse for a single moment, and to try whether, by the exercise of all the powers of their minds, they can (admitting the correctness of the previous reasoning of the Committee,) assign a single reason, satisfactory to themselves, why the acquisition of the particular territory proposed, is to constitute an exception to the acknowledged general right of acquiring territory.

Having searched the Constitution in vain, for "an express denial" of this "natural and necessary incident" to the enumerated powers of regulating commerce, of making war, and of negotiating treaties; and finding in its whole extent, no "direct inhibition" of the right in question, must they not be led to the irresistible conclusion, that this "natural and necessary right" of course exists?

But how fallacious are the deductions of the acutest intellect! How many wonderful things are to be met with "in heaven and earth, that are not even dreamt of in the philosophy" of the uninitiated! Who but the ingenious gentleman at the head of the Committee of Foreign Relations in the Senate, could ever have discovered that the case in question was precisely that case, to which alone, the various modes of acquiring territory, acknowledged to appertain to the General Government, "were not properly applicable!" To discover *why* they are not, would perhaps puzzle our readers quite as much, as the stumbling block already thrown in their way—and that their patience may no longer be trifled with, we accordingly present them with the following summary of the reasoning of the Committee, in support of the exception they have been pleased to make.

"The United States," say they, "cannot acquire territory on the Coast of Africa by the right of discovery, because its whole coast has already been explored by other civilized nations, who have not thought proper to occupy it. The reasons which restrained them, merit at least as much consideration from the United States, as they have received from the elder members of the family of civilized man; and must of course preclude them from advancing any claim to African territory, on the ground of first discovery and prime occupancy.

"Nor does the right of declaring war apply to the case in question. The power to declare war, like all the other discretionary powers, conferred by the Constitution, is necessarily limited by the ends and objects for which alone it may be rightfully exerted. Now as war is never to be justified except as a means necessary to the preservation of permanent peace and greater security; and as the peculiar situation of the savage hordes, occupying the coast of Africa, renders it impossible that they should ever threaten the peace or disturb the security of the United States, the power to declare war can hardly be considered as embracing them within its scope, and of course no territory can be acquired *amongst them, however it may be elsewhere, by the right of conquest.*

"Equally inapplicable is the treaty-making power to the case now under consideration. This too is a discretionary power granted to the United States by the Constitution; but like all other powers of the same kind, it has its limits. These limits the Committee do not think it necessary to define; but satisfy themselves with the remark, that from the very nature of the power, as well as from its effect on the parties concerned, and indeed on the whole civilized world, it can be exercised only by two or more sovereigns, acting together for the attainment of the same object, by means of a compact, which, when concluded, is to be obligatory on the whole people governed by such sovereigns. Civilized nations have accordingly seldom believed themselves at liberty to conclude treaties with absolute savages—no instance can be adduced, in modern times, of the conclusion of such treaties with the savage tribes wandering over the deserts, or dwelling on the coast of Africa—and hence the Committee infer, that the right of acquiring new territory, which it is proposed the United States should exert, in order to make such acquisition in Africa, can derive as little support from the treaty-making, as from the other great powers of the Government.

"But even if this difficulty did not exist, an insuperable one would be found in the remote situation of the territory proposed to be acquired. The treaty-making power of the United States is admitted to be equal to the legitimate acquisition of new territory, either within or contiguous to their original dominions; but it does not extend to the acquisition of a distant territory in another quarter of the globe, separated from the United States by a wide ocean. A country so situated, being, in the nature of things, unable to contribute its just proportion of the blessings, or to bear its proper share of the responsibilities of our representative system, could, of course, never be admitted into the Union as an integral part of the confederation. It must, therefore, either be retained in a state of colonial dependence, or it must be endowed with the character and attributes of a sovereign state, entirely independent of the parent country. Neither of those are the United States authorized to do; and hence it is inferred, that the treaty-making power does not extend to the acquisition of a territory, creating an absolute obligation to do one or the other. And this impression is strengthened by the fact, that all the treaties hitherto made for the acquisition of territory, have contained stipulations for its future admission into the Union, as a part and equal member of the confederation."

Such we believe to be a fair exposition of the reasoning of the Committee, and we are perfectly satisfied that with the generality of our readers, it might be safely left, without any other answer, than could be drawn from the extracts already made from their own Report. But it has been so much the fashion of late, to cavil at the exercise of the simplest and most obvious

powers of the General Government—prejudice and interest have so often combined to reduce those powers to a scale wholly disproportioned to the demands of the country, and wholly incompatible with the intentions of the framers of our Constitution, that it has become the solemn duty of every lover of law and order, and of every friend to the permanency of our republican system, to array himself on the side of the Constitution, and to shield it, if possible, against attacks, from whatever quarter they may come, that are calculated to diminish its value, if not to destroy its very existence. Under these impressions, we must beg leave to pass the arguments of the honorable Committee a little farther in review, before we take our final leave of them.

The enumerated powers of the General Government, (and amongst the rest, the three specified by the Committee,) are all given alike, for the purposes of “forming a more perfect union, establishing justice, ensuring domestic tranquillity, providing for the common defence, promoting the general welfare,” &c. &c. Whenever, in the opinion of Congress, any one or all of these ends can be attained by the exercise of any one or all of their enumerated powers, the authority to exercise them is absolute, and the laws they may pass in pursuance thereof, become “the supreme law of the land, any thing in the Constitution and laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.” It is of no consequence, that the exercise of the power in question may fall short of or exceed the end proposed—that it may disappoint the expectations formed as to its result—that it may violate established principles of policy—that it may fall with severity on some portions of our own country—or may even operate unjustly towards foreign nations. If it only avoid forbidden ground—if it involve no incident “expressly denied”—if it violate no “direct inhibition” of the Constitution—the power is constitutionally exercised. It may be injudiciously exercised—it may be exercised in a bad spirit, but it is constitutionally exercised, and its effects can be got rid of, in no other way, than by an act of formal repeal.

Let us apply these principles to the reasoning of the Committee. The Congress of the United States, thinking it important to the interests of the country, that we should possess some



point of territory beyond the Atlantic, authorize an expedition for the purpose of discovering and designating a convenient spot. A large and commodious territory, in every respect suitable and calculated in the highest degree to facilitate our commercial operations, or to promote the "general welfare" of the country in some other way, is found on the Coast of Africa. It is inhabited by no one—not even savages—and no claim is set up to it by any civilized nation. We take it for granted, that here is a case, to which, the Committee themselves would, according to their own showing, pronounce the commercial powers of Congress "properly applicable." And, as the constitution contains no "express denial," no "direct inhibition" of the power exercised, the territory would of course become the property of the United States, on the ground of "first discovery and prime occupancy." In process of time, however, it is ascertained, that the vessels of some other nation had, many centuries back, touched at the same point; but seeing that no great advantage could result to their country from so remote and inhospitable a possession, had abandoned as soon as they had discovered it.—From that moment, the whole proceeding of the government becomes unconstitutional and void, and the power exercised, though constitutional in itself, and opposed by no "express denial," no "direct inhibition of the constitution," is nevertheless, unconstitutionally exercised, simply because the territory in question had been previously visited by the vessels of another nation.—Are the honourable Committee prepared for this extraordinary result, to which by the process of their own reasoning, they are inevitably brought?

Again, the power of declaring war is expressly given to the Government of the United States. It is given, like its commercial powers, for the purposes exhibited in the preamble to the constitution. The time and the mode of exercising it, are left without limitation to the discretion of Congress. On that discretion, however, the Committee would impose a limitation of their own creation—a limitation founded on motives of action, and an arbitrary selection of one in preference to all the other ends, for which the power in question is given. "War," say they, "is never to be justified except as a means necessary to the preservation of permanent peace and greater security."—

And as the condition of the people of Africa "places it beyond credulity that any or all of them can now threaten the peace or disturb the security of any, the most exposed spot in this hemisphere," the right of making war on them is denied, however the "general welfare," (an end as important and as defined as the "common defence,") might be otherwise promoted by it. Had the Committee been satisfied with representing wars, except for the "preservation of permanent peace and greater security," as in the main unjust and impolitic, we might have argued with them. But when they deny the constitutional right of Congress to declare war for any other purposes, than such as they have specified, we must be pardoned for appealing from their judgment, to the express letter of the constitution itself.

We think it proper, however, here to observe, that in noticing these arguments of the Committee, we have no view to the immediate interests of the Colonization Society. We have never looked to the commercial or military powers of the government as the means of accomplishing the purposes of that Society; and so far as the acquisition of territory is desirable, we are satisfied that the treaty-making power is amply sufficient to accomplish every thing that will be asked.

If the acquisition of territory be not a legitimate object for the exercise of this power, it will be a difficult matter to find one that is. And if it be—as common sense would indicate, as the Committee themselves acknowledge, and as the uniform practice of the government demonstrates it to be—we know of no constitutional limitation on the exercise of the power, or on its application to any particular case, but that its aim should be the general good, that it should disregard no "express denial," and should infringe no "direct inhibition" of the Constitution.—These considerations being regarded, there is nothing to prevent the acquisition of desirable territory from one people more than from another, or in one situation more than in another. If we can purchase territory from the Indians, we can purchase it as well from the Africans—the latter are, to say the least, as civilized as the former. And if we can extend our dominions in our own neighbourhood, there is nothing to prevent us from extending them in a distant land. In every case, the power is equally complete; and the only question in relation to any pur-

chase, is the question of expediency—a question left exclusively to the discretion of Congress.

As to the subsequent use of the territory, the Constitution has left no room for doubt or difficulty. In authorizing “the admission of new states” on the one hand, and in giving to Congress on the other, express power “to dispose of and to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory of the United States,” it has provided for every emergency. It has wisely left it to the representatives of the people to dispose of the acquired territory, to retain it in its territorial condition, or to admit it into the Union, as the general interests of the country may seem to require; and the fact, that the acquisition of Louisiana and Florida was accompanied by express stipulations; as to the future disposition of them, is no evidence that territories differently situated, may not be acquired without any such stipulations.

The Committee have done the Colonization Society injustice, in charging them with having referred in their petition, to the power of Congress “to provide for the common defence, and to promote the general welfare,” as to “a general authority bestowed upon that body by the Constitution, in virtue of which, the U. S. may lawfully acquire distant territory, or do any other of the acts which the Society wishes to be performed.” An examination of their memorial will show that this is a mistake. The only use it makes of the expressions referred to, will be found in the following sentence, near its close. “The resolutions which have been adopted by a very large proportion of the Legislatures of the States, in favour of the plan of colonizing the free people of colour, indicate it as an object entitled, in every respect, to the aid and patronage of a government, whose peculiar province it is, *in the exercise of its legitimate powers*, ‘to provide for the common defence, and to promote the general welfare’ of the country over which it presides.” And will the honourable Committee deny that it is the peculiar province of Congress, *in the exercise of its legitimate powers*, to provide for the common defence, and to promote the general welfare of the nation? Are these important ends of legislation to be wholly disregarded, even when they can be attained by means acknowledged to be legitimate?

In one respect, we are aware, that we shall differ from the Committee. We consider all the powers conferred on Congress, in the 8th section of the Constitution, as standing in the same relation to the preamble, as well as to each other. Each may be used in giving efficacy to the rest, but each may also be used in accomplishing *directly* the ends for which all are given. The Committee, on the contrary, have selected the first and most important of these powers—the power to raise and expend revenue—have taken from it, its distinct and substantive character, and would make it entirely and exclusively subsidiary to the powers that follow it. Commerce may be regulated, money coined, post offices established, and war declared, for any purpose calculated “to promote the common defence and general welfare,” while the power most especially given for this very purpose, is alone withheld from a *direct* application to it.—The treaty-making power, and the power to regulate commerce, may, according to the Committee, be employed for the acquisition of a desirable territory, because they are thus accomplishing “the general welfare,” for which they are given. But the money-raising power cannot be applied *directly* to the acquisition of the very same territory, although the fact of its being given for “promoting the general welfare,” is embodied in the very clause that conveys the power. If the reasoning of the Committee on this subject, be correct, it would follow, that the revenue of the government, although given “to pay the debts,” as well as “to provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States,” cannot be applied to the discharge of the revolutionary debt, because, in this case, it *must* act *directly* on its object, and not *indirectly* through the medium of any of the subsequently enumerated powers. But from a result so extravagant, we imagine even Governor Giles and Professor Cooper could not hesitate to revolt.

If, then, we are correct in our views of the general power of the government over its revenue—and we are sustained in them by the practice of every administration, by decided majorities in both branches of Congress, and by the voice of at least three-fourths of the nation—there can be no doubt but that the United States may both provide a territory for the reception of our coloured population, and appropriate the necessary funds for aid-

ing in its removal. Beyond this, neither we, nor (we believe) any others of the friends of the Colonization Society desire them to go—we ask the exercise of no power calculated to interfere, in the smallest degree, with either individual rights or state authorities—we seek the removal of no free person of colour without his own consent, and of no slave without the consent of his master, and of neither, without the consent and co-operation of the state in which he lives. Thus guarded and thus limited, we know no possible evil that can result from the proposed interference of the government, but the expenditure of its money—and how far that will be an evil, must depend on the value of the object to be accomplished, on its connection with the general interests of the nation, and on the amount of expenditure it will actually involve. But we have already trespassed so far on the attention of our readers, that we must postpone, to some other occasion, the interesting and extensive inquiry opened to us by the remarks of the Committee on this branch of the subject.



### **Report of the Board of Managers of the Lynchburg Aux. Col. Society.**

The following Report was presented by J. B. Harrison, Esq., of the Board of Managers, a few days since, to the Lynchburg Society. Expressing as it does, the sentiments of a highly respected association in the central part of Virginia, we may hope that the SOUTHERN PEOPLE generally, will candidly reflect upon the clear and cogent arguments so admirably expressed, with which, here, the claims of our Institution are defended. While we must acknowledge ourselves disposed to apply for aid to the National Government, yet whether such application is or is not to be successful, we look with the very able author of the following Report, confidently, for support to individual charity, and the patronage of the States. Who can say what these may accomplish, when given with the full consent of all? We hope, however, that the preceding Review of Mr. Tazewell's Report

will not be lightly considered; coming, as it does, from one, distinguished alike for candid examination and intellectual vigour.

Mr. HARRISON, from the Board, presented the following Report:

The Board would esteem itself happy, did the state of public sentiment throughout the Union, justify it, in this its annual exhibit, in representing the prospects of the Society in the United States as obscured by no impending cloud, or menaced by no distant portent. But we should be uncandid if we dwelt in vague terms on the high motives of humanity and patriotism which impel us, and passed silently over certain circumstances materially affecting the chances of our success, which have occurred within the last year. It is manifest, too, that this Auxiliary Society, in the centre of the largest of the slave-holding States, and composed chiefly of slaveholders, bears a relation to the Parent Society, and to those of our fellow-citizens whom we desire to persuade to accede to our plan, essentially different from that of any Northern branch; for the operative motives with these last will be a patriotism more vague, and a benevolence less informed by experience than our own. It is due to ourselves, then, that we speak to justify the existence of our own Auxiliary in the midst of a community of slave-holders, and let us take it for our province to address persuasions, not to the general philanthropy of Americans, but to the good sense of the SLAVE-HOLDING STATES. It is certainly true, that the aid which is to be most efficient to our plan, must come from the slave-holding states themselves, and it will be vain to expect success for a scheme which is to operate chiefly on the South, if the South should be found decidedly hostile to its endeavours. Fully impressed with this idea, claiming too to speak not unadvisedly of evils of which we ourselves feel our individual full share, we too speak as SOUTHERN MEN; not as advocates but as parties; not as uninterested propagandists, but as the very subjects of the advice we give. It may be well to avow that a doubt has not entered the mind of the Board, that if any people in the world have a right to speak out on this subject, it is we.

The first matter proper to allude to, is the hostility to the whole ground of the American Colonization Society, exhibited by certain writers and speakers in our sister state of South Carolina. The Board cannot but regret that all these opponents have presumed to attribute to the Society objects which are not enumerated in its constitution, and which have, moreover, been repeatedly disavowed by formal resolutions. It is thought not unfair to charge on a great number of honourable men, united in a body which neither desires mystery, nor by possibility admits of secret purposes from the mode of its existence, the harboring of designs, of which no man who proposes to live in the country on which such experiments are to be practised, could with common sense desire to witness the progress. It is thought not unfair to charge a body composed in one-half certainly of slaveholders, with a deliberate policy, which, to that half would be suicidal,

and baneful to all the country; or else the malice is laid on the non-slave-holding part, and the rest are looked on as deluded by an ill disguised scheme, of fatal tendency. Having, before this time, declared the true objects of the Society, we may well demand the grounds on which any man may attribute to it a secret purpose to emancipate the slave property of the United States. Is it permitted to harbour itself in the Northern and Eastern branches as yet, to be shortly brought thence into light and action? Those who think so, are not aware, that, of all parts of the country, New England is most indifferent to our plan. Perhaps South Carolina itself has contributed as much to its aid as Massachusetts, the head of the Eastern states. Indeed, except Vermont, which has honourably distinguished itself by the charities of its citizens to the Society, there is no part of New England that has yet paid even the fair tribute of patriotism to it. In the middle and Western non-slave-holding states, where, if at all, there exists any anxiety to rid us of our slaves, this feeling has in no great degree associated itself with the Society; above all, it derives no warrant, but rather meets rebuke from that body. Again: does this secret purpose exist in the bosom of the Managers at Washington, citizens, let us not forget, like ourselves of a slave-holding district? Or, is it a subject of consultation among certain persons who assemble at the Annual meetings? On this head, the Board feels itself able to report to the Society—that a satisfactory answer may be given this day to our opponents. For several reasons, the Board thought proper to have a representative at the last annual meeting at Washington, J. B. Harrison, Esq., at which, also, he was instructed to assure the Society of resolute co-operation, and cause of increasing hope in this part of Virginia. We have every reason to believe that his zeal in the cause gave him free admission into the plans of the managers, and attending members; and from him we derive authority to say, neither the Managers nor the invaluable Secretary, Mr. Gurley, on whom, happily for us, devolve more immediately the general interests of the Society, nor any single member who spoke more than his own isolated opinion, entertains a thought of operating through this Society either the seduction of slaves, or the liberation of a single slave without the entire consent of the master. This is their leading sentiment; and, when, in the course of some rhetorical aberrations, a speaker happened to characterize the plan as one of different intent from this, it was gratifying to the Virginia feelings of our delegate, that every member with whom he conversed protested against the ascribing such a character to it. By this general expression of opinion he is convinced that he spoke not unauthorizedly, when he there declared that the American Colonization Society had no connection in fact or by resemblance, with any Abolition Society in America or elsewhere, and that the Society were ready then, if necessary, to pass a censure on such Societies in America.

Certainly the Society cannot justly be held to account for the overheated zeal of all persons scattered through the country, who have connection

in scarce any instance with it, nor should very heavy wrath fall on it for permitting to pass within its own halls the indiscretion of those rhetoricians to whom a simile is a hard temptation, and to resist an inviting trope is a fortitude for which the flesh is quite too weak. We rely then with confidence that the authorized officers, and its influential members do with honesty pursue the ostensible objects set forth in the constitutions of the Parent and the Auxiliaries, and have none other ulterior in view. Were not this our unanimous opinion, on full examination, no consideration, would induce a single member of the Board, and we venture to say, of this Auxiliary itself, to give it his co-operation. Satisfied, as we are, that we are uniting with honest men in the pursuit of a great object of patriotism and humanity, the brave and true men of Carolina must not expect us, in Virginia, to abandon principles dear to our hearts, at the unexpected hostility which they who presume to speak for the whole South, are pleased to proclaim against them. The elders among us, who have lent their mature approbation to our plan, are content to abide the clamour; and the young men who have adventured into this field, and made perhaps their first offering to the public service by the advocacy of this cause in the midst of slave-holders, as yet see no reason to recede from their ground; nor will they be dismayed while they reflect that of all the objects of animated zeal which can be pictured to them, none can so well reconcile ambition with a pure love of public utility. As for such young men, they are content to begin the race of life in a community where they are aware that popularity is indeed a precious treasure, besides that it is almost essential to the usefulness of any one, nothing doubting that they will finally be blessed with the gratitude of the Republic, and, by deserving it, acquire the only fame which is worth having, the fame that *follows*. But the Board will by no means admit that these, our opponents, speak the voice of the whole South. They even flatter themselves that an adversary is to rise up to these champions, not out of the defied and insulted North, but that the sensibility, the lofty spirit, the distrust of all philanthropy, and the boasted talent of slave-holding Carolina, are to be outpeered by the calmer dignity, the better tempered patriotism and the self-persuaded zeal of slave-holding Virginia. Indeed, it strikes us forcibly that there is now and always has been, an essential difference between the sentiment of Virginia and South Carolina on the whole subject of slavery. If we may consider the author of an able pamphlet, by Brutus, as speaking the voice of our opponents in Carolina, we shall find, by a close analysis, that the true grounds of their hostility are 1st, an apprehension that there does exist in all the non-slave-holding states a rooted design to abolish slavery among us, an apprehension which we will briefly declare, in our opinion to be, to any great extent, manifestly unfounded. In proof of this, let them reflect either on the declaration of Mr. Everett, that, in case of an insurrection of our slaves, he and his fellow citizens of Massachusetts would be the first to take the knapsack



and the musket, to fight for us, the holy war of our deliverance: Or, let them believe Mr. McDuffie, who declared that he could most sincerely tell them that there were not twenty men in Congress who would not vote as South Carolina would wish, on a proposal to interfere, in any manner, with her slaves. Let, then, this unworthy suspicion be forever dismissed.—2nd. However, they think it a full justification for all their hostility, that a Society dares to exist which speaks of slavery at all; and which, by the most remote implication, can be shown to desire the amelioration of slavery. We, of Virginia, have never so much dreaded the bare hinting at slavery as an evil as to attempt to suppress the natural workings of human nature. Before the Revolution, we passed 23 Acts to suppress the evil; all negatived by the King. As early as '76, feeling that it was an evil, we did not go into a corner to whisper out a craven humanity, but we boldly closed up and locked forever the great gate through which the pestilence was to be perpetually reinforced; we abolished the slave trade. South Carolina laughed then at our fanaticism, and pretended to tremble at our pernicious example. Her nerves proved tough for thirty-two years after this; and, up to the very last limit of the patience of the other states, the slave-ship showed its ill-fated flag in her harbours.

From a period as early as '82, we permitted any master, by deed or will, to emancipate his slaves; and, in 1806, for the best reasons, entirely accordant with the principles of this Society too, we added a clause requiring such emancipated persons to depart out of the State. Yet, we learn, from Brutus, that no slave can by law be emancipated in South Carolina without a special act of the Legislature, and that the Legislature has, particularly of late years, set its face against all emancipation. Will any one, after this, seek to ally the feeling of Virginia on this head with that of Carolina?—We can give but cold applause to that patriotism which declares war against the most distant tendency—we use the words of Brutus—"to weaken the attachment of our citizens to the policy which is the life-blood of Carolina," and proclaims that domestic servitude is so essentially interwoven with her prosperity, that for her own citizens to speak of its abolition, now or in any future time, is to talk of striking her out of political and civil existence.—(*Brutus*, page 124.) As for us, we mean to allow no dictation of the non-slave-holders; but, in bidding them hold off, we cannot use such arguments as these. God forbid, that we should be driven to incorporate with our every-day sentiments of liberty, the detestable paradox which those arguments imply. There are not, we believe, a hundred men in Virginia who do not hope their posterity may one day find it fit to relieve themselves of this curse. We should be unworthy of the beautiful system which it mars, did we not lament its existence, "as a stain upon a vestal's robe, the worse for what it soils." With this sentiment we can see in a Society, which, neither by remote operation, promotes disaffection among our slaves, nor offers to dictate to us, nothing which cries aloud for

the indignation of virtue, or the armed defiance of patriotism. Is there danger of disaffection, from removing the freed negroes and offering an asylum to such slaves as their masters may voluntarily manumit? Virginia will think not more than from her law permitting emancipation and requiring them to leave the State at the moment. Carolina, of course, thinks otherwise. The plan is in principle, as it was in fact, Virginian; and accords with every healthy throb of Virginia feeling. If it be indeed true, that the richest cotton lands of Carolina can never be cultivated except by slave labour, we sincerely pity our brethren for their embarrassing condition; but this, of itself, puts up a perpetual barrier between the interests of Virginia and Carolina, which no attachment for them can make us throw down. Virginia, at least, has no physical obstacle which will decree her never to become a flourishing commonwealth of homogeneous freemen.— To return, then, from these general considerations, and taking up the general character of the Society, we note with regret another turn of thought, which Brutus adopts as his own. The Society, says he, is the nucleus around which will be gathered the worst elements of discord. But, for the Society, we will assert, that, neither intending to excite nor to encourage discord itself, if there arise discord we shall know from what quarter it arises. Proud that we have discovered the richest scheme of patriotism and humanity that the age has seen, we offer it to the world, not as a nucleus for warring elements to gather around, but as one “entire and perfect chrysolite,” which we have vowed to keep pure from the taint of fanaticism, of sectional jealousy, and of party hatred. If there be faith in man, or feasibility in any generous purpose, it shall be kept to this; and through this will prevail.

The next matter which requires mention is the passage of resolutions by the Legislature of South Carolina and Georgia, not so much affecting the general merits of the Society as the right of Congress to afford it aid, under the Constitution of the United States; and also a report of a committee of the Senate, taking the same scope, never acted upon. This Auxiliary does not consider it a vital part of the scheme of the Society, to demand aid from Congress; and our friends in other parts of the United States must excuse us for reminding them of this. Doubtful, ourselves whether Congress has a right to appropriate money for this end, we need not meet our opponents on these points. We look for ample aid from the treasury of the States, and individual bounty; and would exhort all of the Auxiliaries to toil for help through these channels. Above all, we entreat Virginia not to conclude from the want of power in Congress to grant money, that therefore the Society does not deserve individual and even state patronage. The perfect logic of the author of the Report to the Senate had taught him that many of the noblest subjects for individual enterprise, the advancement of learning, of piety, of philanthropy in general, are wholly beyond the authority of Congress. But this very circumstance lays a heavier responsi-

lity on our private efforts. There is however, a single passage at the close of Mr Tazewell's report, which does indeed strike with no unskillfully guided weapon at the very vitals of the Society. After cutting us off from any aid from Congress, he proceeded to speak of the Society, thus turned adrift, and to show it unworthy of any other aid. It is charged on us that this is a self-created Society, whose plans are connected with the action of the government, and therefore to be looked at with suspicion and distrust. Is it, then, true that a government of limited powers, stretching its authority over scarcely any of the vital influences of the community, has a just right by inuendo, to discourage the formation of associations intended to take charge of those vital influences? Is it not unreasonable that that which the government will not do, and individuals cannot, should be discouraged when attempted by a union of many individuals? But, further, should such an association even petition Congress for aid, can patriotic statesmen impose other conditions on them, than that they should be respectful, peaceable and temperate? Nay, would it not follow, from this, that no self-created Society should be allowed to petition any State Legislature? That which is wise, humane and patriotic, the people begin at their firesides; and, if they desire it much, they will unite their scattered strength into one body. This is the inevitable succession of popular anxiety, and he who asks that the government should look with distrust on that which does not begin with itself, asks for stagnation in the fountains of the public reservoir. Self-created societies would, therefore, be dangerous not only to Congress, but to the States, and, by deduction, to the people themselves, where they solicit individual aid from the people. But it is manifest that government in America is not such a machine of all work as to have a monopoly of public feeling and interest. There are some subjects wholly within the cognizance of Congress which it would be mischievous for bodies of men to presume to control, though even this would not apply to all cases so within that cognizance. But it is indolent logic, and worse humanity, to indict all self-created Societies having any reference to the action of the government, because certain kinds of them have been justly condemned by Washington, and others by Jefferson. Just judgments of conviction or acquittal lie in particulars only. Now, could the objects of this Society be put in progress by insulated individuals, without the fostering care of a permanent Board of Control? After doing much for themselves, they ask Congress to help; thinking it not foreign to their jurisdiction; though not belonging to Congress as a subject of necessary legislation. They do this peaceably and respectfully. Other cases prove only themselves. Let the world judge of this case by itself, if the bare fact of its being a self-created Society is enough to condemn it.

Is not the Board, then, justifiable, at the close of the third year of your existence, in urging you to go on in your great work, and in saying to you, that thus far, all is well. We shall succeed; the South will not all refuse to

bear its part in the cause? We warn you to beware of fulfilling the prediction of a sage Senator of South Carolina, that, "some how, benevolence seemed to be an unsuccessful business." It has been indeed true in the Southern States. Other things succeed better; ambition and avarice come of a healthy stock, and they last their generation. Unmixed benevolence no one would expect to exist long in these States; but we trust, that by adding to our benevolence no small quantity of self-interest, and some politics, this scheme gives vital heat enough to the philanthropy of the Virginia friends of Colonization, to prolong it beyond the ordinary duration of public schemes among us.

All which is respectfully submitted,



## Slave Trade.

We regret to say, that this trade appears to be carried on to a great extent and with circumstances of the most revolting cruelty. Many details on this subject are given in the last Report of the African Institution. The *La Perle*, Gibbin, master, having landed part of a cargo of 250 slaves at Guadaloupe, was pursued by an armed French Cutter, and to avoid detection threw the remainder (65) overboard, and they all perished. Several of the bodies of the murdered negroes being washed ashore, some slight inquiries were made, but the authors of this inhuman murder, were not apprehended, and they have not yet been brought to any account for it. The French slave-trade, notwithstanding the efforts of the government, appears to be undiminished. The number of Spanish vessels employed in the trade is immense, and as the treaty between England and Spain only permits the seizure of vessels having slaves actually on board, many of these watch their opportunity on the coast, run in, and receive all their slaves on board in a single day. The ravages of disease, in consequence of the crowded state of these vessels, and the scarcity and wretched quality of the provisions served to the victims, are considered so inseparable from the trade, that they excite little notice. One instance is mentioned of a Spanish Schooner, of 60 tons burthen, into which, 221 slaves were crowded, their only provision being bad Yams and putrid water.—Thirty died on the passage, and the rest were landed in a misc-

table state of weakness and emaciation. The Spanish slavers act frequently as pirates, sometimes even preying upon their brethren in iniquity. When they seize a slaver of inferior force, they generally murder the whites, and take possession of the living cargo. The slave trade is carried on unblushingly at Havana. In one instance when a British cruiser had chased a slave vessel, the *Minerva*, into port, the slaves were landed, while the government were pretending to inquire into the complaint of the British Officer who was sent on shore, and at this the authorities connived and screened the delinquents. On searching a steam vessel bound to Matanzas, however, this officer found 14 of the negroes stowed away between the bulk-heading, which separated the boilers from the vessel's side, and exposed to the intense heat produced by the lighted stoves! Six females were found concealed under a coil of ropes and a hawser. These wretched beings thought at first that they were doomed to death, but on being undeceived their joy was excessive. To the Brazils the slave trade is carried on to a great extent, and with circumstances of the most odious barbarity.—The *Intrepida*, of 100 tons burden, when captured, was found to contain 310 slaves, in a state of great wretchedness and emaciation; seventy of them had died in a passage of 46 days.—Another, the *Invincible*, contained 446 slaves, so crowded together, that it was impossible to separate the sick from the healthy, or the dying from the dead; their provisions and water were of the worst kind; the filth and stench was beyond description; and the dysentery, ophthalmia, and scurvy, carried off 186 of these poor wretches in less than 60 days.

It is consoling to think, that according to a treaty signed with Great Britain, in March 1827, the Brazilian slave-trade is to cease within three years, from that period. These facts are stated in an abstract of the African Institution's Report, in the *Liverpool Mercury*, which is concluded by the following dreadful picture of cruelty and suffering.

In a Spanish slave Schooner, boarded by H. M. S. *Aurora*, after a diligent search, 240 slaves were found concealed. They were in the most dreadful state imaginable. Having in their confined situation disease and starvation to contend with at once. The vessel had been at sea forty-seven days, from the coast of

Guinea; and, when captured, had only one day's provision on board. A Yam being thrown among the wretched negroes, they fought for it like hungry dogs.

We will here add a few facts which show (if *any* thing can show,) more strongly the atrocities and horrors of this trade.— In 1818, 22,231 slaves, were embarked on the coast of Africa for Rio de Janiero; of which number 19,802 only arrived at that place, 2,429 having died on the passage. One vessel lost 161 out of 421; another, 229 out of 659; a third, 238 out of 464.— By an official document from Rio de Janiero, it appears that the following importations of slaves were made into that port in 1826 and 1827.

1826, landed alive, 35,966—died on the passage 1,905

1827, landed alive, 41,384—died on the passage 1,643

Thus it would seem, (says the Boston Gazette,) that to only one port in the Brazils, and in the course of two years, *seventy-seven thousand three hundred and fifty* human beings were transported from their own country, and placed in a state of slavery. At Bahia, Pernambuco, and other ports in that kingdom, there is also an active commerce carried on with the coast of Africa for slaves, as well as in some of the French and other West India Islands; and we apprehend there never will be an extinction of this detestable traffic, until more efficient means are adopted by this country and Great Britain for its suppression.

During a voyage to Africa in a vessel belonging to the United States, a few years ago, the writer conversed with several of the older seamen, who had at some period of their lives been employed on board of slave ships. The following is an extract from the writer's note book at that time.

“Our steward says, he has been to Africa five times to obtain slaves. On one occasion, when an insurrection was apprehended, two hundred of the wretched beings were shot dead. Forty was about the number of deaths, which took place each voyage, except the last, when the loss was but ten; the number purchased each time being about four hundred. Another sailor, who has twice visited the African coast for slaves, states that from about 800, the cargo each time, 113 died during one voyage, and eighty-seven during another. The Boatswain informs me, that when he went to the Congo for slaves, out of

400, the number taken on board, 80 died on the passage.”—  
 These extracts will, we presume, give a correct idea of the ordinary mortality among the slaves during what is termed the middle passage, that is, while crossing the Atlantic. And shall Christian nations bear the reproach of this traffic longer? Can nothing more be done to save the thousands, men like ourselves, who are thus perishing in agony?

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### Valuable Thoughts.

We take the liberty to recommend the following extract to those who are doubtful and hesitating, in regard to our great design.

One thing is certain, that the greatest of all obstacles to the improvement of the world, is that prevailing belief of its improbability, which damps the exertions of so many individuals; and that, in proportion as the contrary opinion becomes general, it realizes the event which it leads us to anticipate. Surely if any thing can have a tendency to call forth in the public service the exertions of individuals, it must be an idea of the magnitude of that work in which they are conspiring, and a belief of the permanence of those benefits which they confer on mankind, by every attempt to inform and enlighten them. As in ancient Rome, therefore, it was regarded as the mark of a good citizen, never to despair of the fortunes of the republic; so the good citizen of the world, whatever may be the political aspect of his own times, will never despair of the fortunes of the human race; but will act upon the conviction, that prejudice, slavery, and corruption, must gradually give way to truth, liberty, and virtue; and that in the moral world, as well as in the material, the farther our observations extend, and the longer they are continued, the more we shall perceive of order and of benevolent design in the universe.—[*Dugald Stewart.*]

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### Extracts

*From the Colonial Journal, transmitted by Rev. Lott Cary.*

The Colonial Agent, J. Ashmun, Esq., went on board the brig *Doris*, March 26th, 1828, escorted by three companies of the

military, and when taking leave he delivered a short address, which was truly affecting; never, I suppose, were greater tokens of respect shown by any community on taking leave of their head. Nearly the whole (at least two-thirds) of the inhabitants of Monrovia, men, women and children were out on this occasion, and nearly all parted from him with tears, and in my opinion, the hope of his return in a few months, alone enabled them to give him up. He is indeed dear to this people, and it will be a joyful day when we are permitted again to see him.—He has left a written address, which contains valuable admonitions to Officers, Civil, Military, and Religious. The Brig sailed on the 27th. May she have a prosperous voyage.

THURSDAY, MARCH 27th.

Feeling very sensibly my incompetency to enter upon the duties of my office, without first making all the Officers of the Colony well acquainted with the principal objects which should engage our attention, I invited them to meet at the Agency House on the 27th, at 9 o'clock, which was punctually attended to; and I then read all the instructions left by Mr. Ashmun without reserve, and requested their co-operation. I stated that it would be our first object to put the Jail in complete order, secondly to have our guns and armaments in a proper state, and thirdly to get the new settlers located on their lands, as this was a very important item in my instructions. This explanation will, I think, have a good effect; as by it the effective part of the Colony is put in possession of the most important objects of our present pursuit; and I trust through the blessing of the great Ruler of events, we shall be able to realize all the expectations of Mr. Ashmun, and render entire satisfaction to the Board of Managers, if they can reconcile themselves to the necessary expenses.

MARCH 29th.

From a note received from Mr. James, dated Millsburg, I learn that he has visited King Boatswain, and that the new road from Boatswain's to Millsburg will shortly be commenced.—The Headmen expect, however, to be paid for opening the road. Messrs. James and Cook, who came down this evening, state, that the Millsburg Factory will be ready in a few days for the



reception of goods, and wished consignments might be made early. But as I had been on the 27th paying off the kings towards the Millsburg lands, and found that 120 bars came so far short of satisfying them, I thought best to see them together before I should attempt to make any consignments to that place.

[The following is a copy of a deed between Lott Cary, acting in behalf of the American Colonization Society, on the one part; and the after mentioned Kings, of the other part.]

Know all men by these presents: That we, Old King Peter, and King Governor, King James, and King Long Peter, do on this fourth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-eight, grant unto Lott Cary, acting Agent of the Colony of Liberia in behalf of the American Colonization Society, to wit:

All that tract of Land on the north side of St. Paul's river, beginning at King James' line below the establishment called Millsburg Settlement, and we the Kings as aforesaid do bargain, sell, and grant, unto the said Lott Cary, acting in behalf of the American Colonization Society, all the aforesaid tract of Land, situated and bounded as follows: by the St. Paul's river on the south, and thence running an east northeast direction up the St. Paul's river, as far as he, the said Lott Cary, or his successor in the Agency, or civil Authority of the Colony of Liberia, shall think proper to take up and occupy; and bounded on the west by King Jimmey's, and running thence a north direction as far as our power or influence extends. We do on this day and date, grant as aforesaid for the consideration (here follow the articles to be given in payment); and will forever defend the same against all claims whatsoever.

In witness whereof we set our hands and names:

OLD X KING PETER,  
LONG X KING PETER,  
KING X GOVERNOR,  
KING X JAMES.

Signed in the presence of,

ELIJAH JOHNSON,  
FREDERICK JAMES,  
DANIEL GEORGE.

## Auxiliary Societies.

We have recently heard of the formation of several Auxiliary Societies in the western part of the State of Pennsylvania and in New York, but unfortunately have not yet received lists of their Officers. We hope the Secretaries of these Societies will soon give us some account of them. The following is the only one which has come to hand.

At a meeting of the citizens of the village of Fredonia, pursuant to public notice, the Rev. Robert Henry, the American Colonization Society's Agent, presented the form of a Constitution for an Aux. Society, which was adopted, and the following gentlemen were chosen Officers of the Society.

John Crane, Esq., *President.*

*Vice-Presidents.*

Gen. Leveret Barker,

James Mullett, Esq.

*Managers.*

Col. James McMahan,

Abijah Young,

Edward H. Mulford.

Austin Smith, *Treasurer.*

Philip Wells, *Secretary.*

## Remarkable Liberality.

We announce with great pleasure the fact, that a gentleman in Georgia, has recently sought aid from the Society, to remove the whole number of his slaves (43), that they may share the blessings of freedom in Liberia. The act of giving liberty to so large a number, will, we are informed, deprive this individual of the greater part of his fortune, and leave him utterly unable to do much towards their transportation. The Society, therefore, in assuming the responsibility of transferring these people of colour to the Colony, look confidently for the means to those generous Friends, (and we doubt not that there are many such) who can feel the full force of the appeal which this simple statement must make to every humane and Christian mind.

## Subscription on the plan of G. Smith, Esq.

The object of this gentleman, it will be recollected, is to secure 100,000 dollars to the Society in ten years, by subscriptions of

1000 dollars, each subscriber to pay 100 annually for the term we have stated. To the number of those who have been mentioned in our previous numbers, as associates in this admirable purpose, must now be added the name of E. F. BACKUS, Esq. of New Haven, Connecticut, whose first payment will be found acknowledged in our list of donations. The liberality in which this plan originated, and with which it has thus far been supported, is worthy of all praise; and we may at least hope, that a sufficient number will be found to complete its execution.



### **African Mission School Society.**

We observe with great pleasure that an Institution with this name was established at Hartford, Connecticut, on the 7th inst. We regret that the very interesting account of the proceedings on this occasion, must be deferred until our next number. We can only say, that it appears to have arisen under the fairest auspices, and that among its officers, we notice many of the most distinguished members of the Episcopal Church, in our country.



### **Arrival of Mr. Ashmun.**

The Colonial Agent arrived at New Haven, Connecticut, after a protracted passage from St. Bartholomews, on the 10th instant. We are distressed to state, that our hopes of his speedy convalescence are much darkened; and indeed, that he has suffered a very considerable diminution of strength since he disembarked. Wonderfully has he been defended in times past; the shield of a good Providence has covered him amidst a thousand dangers; and we still would hope for the Divine interposition in his behalf, and that many years will be yet added to his invaluable life. Let then all who rejoice in the great and benevolent work, to which this life has been so ably and faithfully devoted, earnestly implore of Almighty God, that it may be prolonged, and that the success of his past exertions, may prove but the first fruits of good to be realized from his future labours.

### Note.

It having been suggested, that possibly the remarks in our May number of the Repository, page 82, in which we mention as one of the causes of the mortality among the Emigrants by the *Doris*, "that symptoms of the scurvy had during the voyage appeared among the emigrants," may be misinterpreted as casting censure upon the officers of that vessel; we beg leave to state that the Managers never doubted for a moment, that every thing possible was done both by Captain Matthews and the other officers, to secure the comfort and health of the emigrants.



### Notice.

The Board of Managers of the A. Colonization Society, propose to send a vessel, with a select company of emigrants to Liberia, in the course of the ensuing autumn; (provided their expectations in regard to funds shall not be disappointed,) and free persons of colour disposed to emigrate, are hereby invited to send in their names, with testimonials of a fair character and industrious habits. The Colony is now believed to be established on sure foundations, and the advantages which it offers to every intelligent and enterprising man of colour, constitute motives for emigration too numerous and too great to be easily resisted.

Each settler soon after his arrival, receives a small plantation, (to which some addition is made, in case he has a wife and children) and to this tract, if cleared and cultivated within two years, he obtains a title in fee simple. This plantation admits of enlargement, at a very small expense. The frugal and industrious are assisted for some months after their arrival if their necessities require it.

Considering then, the many inducements for emigration; the large number of applicants; the reduced price for a passage; and the very limited resources of the Society; the Board of Managers deem it reasonable to expect, that, in all cases where it is possible, those who wish to remove will defray in whole or in part,

the cost of their transportation, (the whole amount not to exceed \$25 for an adult, and half price for each child under 12) and to such as will do this, other things being equal, the Managers feel bound to say, the preference will be given.

Convinced as are the Managers, that in ordinary circumstances, every respectable free man of colour might easily obtain the means of removal to the Colony, they deem it right to urge them to look to their unassisted efforts, for securing to themselves a share in the privileges of the settlement in Liberia.—What these privileges are, the Colonists themselves shall state, in the language of their late address. “Our constitution secures to us, so far as our condition allows, all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the citizens of the United States; and these rights and these privileges are ours. We are proprietors of the soil we live on; and possess the rights of freeholders. Our suffrages, and what is of more importance, our sentiments and opinions have their due weight in the government we live under—our laws are altogether our own; they grew out of our circumstances; are framed for our exclusive benefit, and administered by officers of our own appointment, or such as possess our confidence. We have a judiciary from among ourselves; we serve as jurors in the trial of others; and are liable to be tried only by juries of our fellow-citizens, ourselves. We have all which is meant by *liberty of conscience*. The time and mode of worshipping God, as prescribed us in his word, and dictated by our conscience, we are not only free to follow, but are protected in following. Forming a community of our own, in the land of our forefathers; having the commerce and soil and resources of the country at our disposal; we know nothing of that debasing inferiority, with which our very colour stamped us in America; there is nothing here to create the feeling on our part—nothing to cherish the feeling of superiority in the minds of foreigners who visit us. It is this moral emancipation, this liberation of the mind from worse than iron fetters, that repays us, ten thousand times over, for all that it has cost us. We do not expect to remain stationary. We feel ourselves, for the first time, in a state to improve both our minds and our circumstances.”

But while we trust that many free men of colour may rely up-

on their own exertions for the means of emigration, we must say to our friends, that our pecuniary necessities are at present great; and that without their prompt and liberal contributions, much which is urgently demanded must be left undone for our cause. Auxiliary Societies and Agents are respectfully requested to remit such sums as they may have, or may obtain, without delay, as this will greatly facilitate the operations of the Managers in regard to their intended expedition.



## Africa.

*By William B. Tappan.*

While on the distant Hindoo shore  
Messiah's cross is reared,  
While Pagan votaries bow no more  
With idol blood besmeared—

While Palestine again doth hear  
The Gospel's joyful sound,  
While Islam's crescents disappear  
From Calvary's holy ground—

Say shall not Afric's fated land  
With news of grace be blest?  
Say shall not Ethiopia's band,  
Enjoy the promised rest?

Ye herald's of a Saviour's love  
To Afric's regions fly;  
O haste, and let compassion move  
For million's doomed to die.

Blessed Jesus, who for these hast bled,  
Wilt thou the captives free;  
And Ethiopia, too, shall spread  
Her ransomed hands to thee.

## Contributions

*To the A. C. Society, from 23d July to 19th August, 1828.*

[It has been suggested that it might be well to publish the Fourth of July Collections separately, so that their amount can be readily ascertained, which we do in the present number. We ought here to say, that the amount from this source, acknowledged in our last Number, was \$619 31]

Collections in Rev. Dr. Laurie's Church, Washington, .....	\$20 68
Do. in Patucket, R. I., per Rev. Otis Thompson, .....	3
Do. by Rev. D. Denny, Chambersburg, Pa., .....	15
Do. in College Chapel, Amherst, Mass. per Rev. Doctor Humphreys, .....	31
Do. in Presbyterian Church, Hillsborough, N. C. ....	13
Do. at Cedar Spring, Centre co. Pa. ... ..	13
Do. in Presbyterian Church, Bellefonte, Pa. per Rev. Js. Linn, .....	8
Do. in Rev. Dr. Fisk's Church, Goshen, New York, ....	13
Do. in Olive Street Baptist Church, N. Y. to constitute Rev. S. H. Cone a life member, .....	30
Do. in Nelson, Portage county, Ohio, 4th July 1827, ....	1 12
Do. ditto ditto 1828, ....	3 38
Do. in South Dutch Church, Albany, N. Y. ....	51 92
Do. from Baptist Society, Charleston, Montg'y. co. N. Y.	3
Do. of Congregational Church, and Society in Ellsworth and Surry, Maine, per Rev. Peter Nourse, .....	10
Do. in Presbyterian Church, Prattsborough, Steuben co. N. Y. per James Hotchkin, .....	14
Do. in Rev. D. Field's Congregation, Stockbridge, Mass.	20
Do. in Rev. R. Steel's Congre'n., Abington, near Phila. .	6
Do. by Rev. Luke Humphrey, Burton, Granger co. N. Y.	5
Do. in Baptist and Presbyterian Churches, and Hamilton and vicinity, N. Y. per Rev. Pinder Field, thro' C. Porter,	13
Do. in Foundry Methodist Church, Washington, per Rev. Mr. Davis, .....	23 60
Do. in Methodist Episcopal Church, Alexandria, per Rev. J. Guest, .....	7 30
From Joseph Nourse, Esq., for the following collections by Rev. Dr. McClelland, near Harrodsburg, Pa. viz.	
From New Providence Congregation, .....	\$14 54
From Harrodsburg do. ....	16 75
	31 29
Carried forward, \$336 29	

*Brought forward,* \$336 19

ugh Gerard Ralston, Esq. Treasurer of Pen. Col. Society, viz.

Collection in the 6th Presbyterian Church in Phila. \$23 30

Do. 3d do. .... 21 70

Do. Christ Church, Episcopal, do. .... 36 56

Do. St. Peter's, do. do. .... 28 77

Do. St. Andrew's, do. do. .... 30 08

Do. St. James', do. do. .... 44 10

Do. 2d Presbyterian Church in do. .... 20 50

Do. 1st Northern Liberties, .... 28 34

Do. 5th in Philadelphia, .... 20 78

Do. at Milton, Penn., per Rev. G. Jenkin, 5

Do. at Charlestown, Lancaster co. (F. Ch.) 10

Do. at Morgantown, Berks county, .... 6 50

Wash (R. C.) thro' the Ed. of the Chris. Advocate, 5

Collection in a Society near Hamiltonville, Philadel-

phia county, per Mr. J. Buckman, .... 11 49

Do. in 1st Presbyterian Church, Kensington, Philad. 3 60

295 82

tion in Presbyterian Congregation, Steubenville, Ohio, ... 11

Offering of the little flock of Rev. James Arbuthnot, of Put-

nam, Ohio, per A. Stafford, .... 5

J. G. Birney, Esq., of Huntsville, Alabama, contributed by

several ladies and gentlemen of that place, .... 20

Presbyterian Congregation, Mercer, Pa. per T. Templeton, 10

E. Bateman, Esq., of Cedarsville, N. J. as follows, viz.

Collection in Presbyterian Church, .... \$14 50

Do. Methodist do. .... 3 50

18

tion in Rev. Dr. Balch's Church, Georgetown, per John S.

Nevins, Esq. .... 25

in Tabernacle Church, Salem, per Mich'l. Shepard, . 51

in Presbyterian Church, Cincinnati, Ohio, per Rev.

D. Root, .... 10

in Greenville, Tennessee, Presbyterian Church, per

Rev. O. S. Hinckly, .... 11

in 2d Congregation near Ravenna, Ohio, per Rev. Mr.

Doolittle, .... 8 58

in Presbyterian Church, Brownsville, Pa. .... 8 50

in Presbyterian Congregation, Uniontown, Pa. per

Rev. J. H. Agnew, .... 7

in Congregation, Granville, Washington county, N. Y.

per Rev. John Whiton, .... 13

Carried forward, \$830 19



<i>Brought forward,</i>		\$830 19
Collection in Methodist Church, Suffolk, Va. per A. Smith, Esq.	9	
Do. at a Religious Celebration, Newburyport, Mass., per		
Rev. Dr. Dana, .....	20	60

Fourth of July Collections,		\$859 79
From the charity box of Miss M. F. Turner, Va., .....	2	11
" Rev. James Boyd of Lovington, Va. for Repository, .....	50	
" Col. Benjamin Higley of Windham, Ohio, .....	50	
" Rev. J. Treat, of ditto, .....	2	
" George Petitt, Esq., .....	22	90
" E. F. Backus, Esq. of New Haven, Con., his first payment on the plan of Gerrit Smith, Esq., .....	100	
" Fluvanna Aux. Society, Va. by John B. Magruder, Sec., ..	78	
" Robert W. James, Esq. of Charleston, S. C. his annual sub- scription, per Mr. J. C. Dunn, .....	25	
" Rev. B. O. Peirs, to make him a life member of the Lex- ington Society, .....	20	
" Aux. Society, Pasquotank, N. C. per J. C. Eringhaus, ....	60	
" W. C. Pearson of Edgefield, N. C., per J. J. Roberts, ....	2	
" Adonijah Bidwell of Hillsdale, Mass., .....	10	
" Aux. Society Meadville, Pa. per John P. Davis, Tr. ....	12	
" James Kenear, Franklin county, Pa. ... ..	1	
" C. Foot, Chatagua county, N. Y. ....	1	
" J. Pendergast, ditto, .....	1	
" Dr. Bristol, Buffalo, ... ..	1	
" Rev. J. W. Douglass, Charlotte county, Va. ....	2	
" Repository, .....	23	
" Benjamin Brand, Esq., Treasurer Richmond and Manches- ter Colonization Society, .....	106	
" Rev. Joseph Chickering, Phillipston, Mass., .....	3	
" C. A. M, Georgia, .....	5	
" Mr. Potter, near Ravenna, Ohio, .....	1	
" A Friend, .....	1	
" Aux. Society, Steubenville, Ohio, per D. Moody, Esq., Tr.	27	

\$1416 30

## Errata.

May Number, page 95, date the letter of John Y. Norton, Esq., *Albany*,  
*May* 1828; page 134, 7th line from top, for N. 30°, read *N. 30'*; ditto, page  
 134, 8th line from top, for Southwestern, read *Southeastern*.

THE  
**AFRICAN REPOSITORY,**  
AND  
**COLONIAL JOURNAL.**

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**VOL. IV. SEPTEMBER, 1828. No. 7.**

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**Review.**

*A Discourse on the occasion of forming the African Mission School Society, delivered in Christ Church, Hartford, (Con.) Aug. 10, 1828. By J. M. WAINWRIGHT, D. D., Rector of Grace Church, New York.*

*Address of the Executive Committee of the African Mission School Society, together with the Record of the Proceedings at the formation of said Society. Hartford: 1828.*

THIS recently organized Institution, the plan and objects of which are fully developed in the pamphlets before us, we regard as of special promise to the cause of African improvement. We have long been of the opinion, that the Colony of Liberia has no want more pressing, than that of pious and well educated men of colour, to manage its schools; call forth its energies; and to elevate the intellectual and moral character of the general mass of the community. Individuals, there are, in our Colony, of sterling good sense and much practical wisdom; but perhaps not one who has been thoroughly educated, and is therefore capable of conducting forward the youth to much eminence in literary or scientific attainments. Schools there are, to which all the children have access; and the fidelity of the teachers and the

utility of their instructions, are manifest; though nothing more is, or can be attempted, than to impart the rudiments of knowledge.

Nor are there generally throughout the Colony, any adequate means of religious instruction. In Monrovia, it is true, there are several sensible and pious preachers, by whose labours and example much good has been effected, and under the Divine blessing, the moral and religious character of the settlement been remarkably preserved and improved; yet, the other villages, we fear, enjoy but few advantages for the acquisition of Christian knowledge. Such we know was the opinion of our late lamented Agent, Mr. Ashmun, who never lost an opportunity of urging home upon his countrymen the necessity of sending to the Colony *able teachers*, and especially *enlightened, devoted Missionaries* without the "*moral effects*" (we adopt his own language,) "of whose exertions, all that has been—all that can be accomplished, even *with the national patronage*—must still leave the work incomplete, and short of our early hopes."

But our departed friend expressed his feelings on this subject in still stronger language; language, which we trust will be regarded by all that love the cause for which he died. And surely the testimony of an individual so candid and intelligent, (who had resided for more than six years in a small community, far distant from civilized and christian nations, and exposed daily to the contagious influence of vice among the native tribes, a community, the very existence of which has depended upon the order, sobriety, industry and union of its members,) to the inseparable connexion of Christianity with the best interests of society, must have no little weight with every well informed and thoughtful mind. The paper from which we make the following extracts was written but a few months ago; and could our friend speak to us from his tomb, we believe he would but reiterate the sentiments which he has here expressed.

"Considered in their own nature, and separately from their sanctifying efficacy, and the promised co-operation of the Divine Spirit, if the doctrines of the Saviour, and the ministry of Christian teachers can be so considered, these are, of all the means of arousing human nature, and setting the heart and understand-

ing—body and soul in action, beyond comparison the most certain, and the most effectual.

“How it is in other parts of the world I have only heard and read. But in this Colony I have *seen* the direct and inseparable connection of Christianity, taking in its doctrines, its worship, and its practical fruits—with all that is stable, all that is patriotic, all that is mentally and morally improving, all that is exalting to human nature—in a word, all that is good and excellent among us.

“There is no room for speculation on this point—no room for reasoning. Premises and conclusion are both embodied in one and the same obvious fact. *There* is a pious family—and there stands a firm pillar of the Colony. Industry, intelligence, order, competency and peace, are its characteristics. *There* is a family without religion; I have only to reverse the characteristics of the first, and that family is described.

“We have tried the effects of schools. These are by no means so well conducted as they should be; still their influence is salutary. But these effects are partial and inadequate, operating only on the child, while the parents are left unprofited. But such as worthily sustain the office of the ministry, come with an authority which none dare wholly to despise. They come with motives which all who must die, all who know what a guilty conscience is, all who believe they have a God to account to, and a soul to save, are obliged to feel.

“Let then the Colony be a parish. Let the minister visit and instruct and labour from house to house. Let him have no other engagements in the Colony—no other work to divert his attention from his spiritual charge. Above sectarian prejudices and feelings, let him be equally at home among Christians of every name. A man of discrimination, education, and humility; let him employ the whole various compass of means submitted to his selection in the Book whence he derives his commission; to obviate the prejudices, obtain the confidence, conciliate the affections, instruct the ignorance, correct the errors, amend the morals, and save the souls of all. Such a man might indeed meet with trials and discouragements, might realize a success at first, by no means commensurate with his wishes and his labours. But he would sow seed which must grow.”

So intent indeed was Mr. Ashmun upon securing missionary efforts to the Colony, that he did not hesitate even to recommend that some able and devoted minister should be sent out under the patronage of the Board of Managers.

"I beg respectfully but most pressing (he observes) to recommend, as in my opinion the only means of rendering the Colony what it was intended to be made, a truly christian and civilized asylum of an outcast race of men, the immediate engagement of at least one laborious Christian Minister, of the most respectable qualifications; but above all, of the most ardent piety and untiring zeal.

"If it be doubted for a moment, whether such an appointment be consistent with the simple and declared object of the Colonization Society, the only question to be determined is, whether it be not absolutely necessary as a means of accomplishing that object? Is the simple and unique object of the Society accomplished by only landing emigrants on the African Coast, without regarding their future situation? I have trespassed farther than I fear I should have done in the length of these remarks, but I have done it under a feeling of most sacred obligation to report what I sincerely believed to be the most urgent of all the actual necessities of the Colony, where they ought to be known, and where, if from any quarter, those necessities are to be supplied. None of us who are now active in the work, can act or labour long. And to do seasonably and effectually what little Divine Providence permits us to attempt, is no doubt the way to accomplish the most in the end. It is in these views that this paper is submitted; and I cannot more appropriately bring it to a close, than by humbly supplicating the Almighty in his infinite wisdom and goodness, to supply the means of accomplishing a work so agreeable to the great ends of his moral government, which his word assures us is to build up on earth an universal empire of holiness, of which the foundations are to be laid in the hearts of all mankind."

This it must be remembered, was penned before the excellent writer had been made acquainted with the determination of various missionary associations, both in this country and Europe, to occupy and improve the wide field for Christian labour opened to them in Liberia.

Such determinations, and the energy with which they have been, or are about to be executed, has been deemed by the Board of Managers a sufficient reason for abstaining from any measures to effect the purpose so earnestly and impressively enforced by Mr. Ashmun, even had their opinions been altogether concurrent with his, and their funds sufficient to justify an appropriation for the object. The preceding extract, however, can hardly fail, we think, to produce a general conviction that the introduction of enlightened Christian Teachers is an object of essential importance, viewed simply in its bearings upon the temporal interests of the settlements of Liberia. But our Colony has been planted for purposes of more elevated import than any the effects of which are limited to time. Many who have laboured and died to establish it on deep and sure foundations, have brought to their work the strength of faith and the ardour of intense devotion. The Colonists have seen in their example the value of religious principle, and been urged by their precepts to hold all other considerations in subordination to its authority. They have been taught, truly, to regard Religion as their principle concern, and that to extend its influence is a chief duty of life.

But if efforts are demanded to supply Liberia with pious men of education, the condition of the native tribes in its vicinity offers a motive for such efforts not less imperative. To these tribes a door of access is fully opened through the Colony.— They are prepared to give a kind reception to missionaries, and to place their children under instruction. Among these are no well constructed systems of superstition, ancient and powerful, to oppose the progress of the Gospel; and the only obstacles to remove, are such as are inseparable from the habits of uncivilized men. Nor is the field for Christian exertion wanting either in populousness or extent. We see no reason why the doctrines of our holy faith may not (if faithful able teachers can be found to inculcate them) be propagated rapidly from tribe to tribe, until a large portion of the population of Africa shall experience their efficacy and practically illustrate the purity and excellence of their influence.

And while we are far from having decided that many white men will not be required to accomplish the illumination and regeneration of Africa, we candidly say, that the imminent dangers to

which such persons are exposed by a residence in that country, seems to indicate it as the will of Heaven, that men of colour should be educated and sent forth without delay to this glorious work. *These* are, doubtless, destined to be the principal agents in communicating the arts of civilization and the ever-blessed Gospel, to the long neglected and degraded tribes of Africa.

What friend then of humanity or religion, will not hail with delight, the formation of the *African Mission School Society*?—It comes before the public sustained by many of the most respectable names in our country. We rejoice to see that it is under the special patronage of the Episcopal Church, that the venerable Bishops are its Patrons, and that its Board of Directors is made up of distinguished gentlemen from many different states, and who would do honour to any institution. We are informed that the Rev. Dr. WAINWRIGHT, (from whose excellent Discourse we propose to make some extracts,) has been mainly instrumental in exciting that interest which has resulted in the establishment of this Society. Should its operations be well conducted, and its success equal our hopes, reflections far more valuable than human applause, must be the treasure of him who has given an impulse to public charity in favour of African Education, and moved that a Seminary should be founded for this object; to the support of which, the public liberality may be judiciously directed.

We regret that we cannot give to the Discourse of Dr. Wainwright, that extended notice which it so well merits. The text is that beautiful prediction of the Prophet, (*Isaiah* xi. 9.) THEY SHALL NOT HURT NOR DESTROY IN ALL MY HOLY MOUNTAIN: FOR THE EARTH SHALL BE FULL OF THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE LORD, AS THE WATERS COVER THE SEA.

Dr. Wainwright commences with some remarks to show that if the "Doctrine of human perfectability" as maintained by the "visionary and extravagant," is to be discarded, so likewise are the "cold and heartless views" of those who would persuade us that men must always remain what they now are, and that we are to expect no improvement in the moral condition of the world.—Abandoning the "dreams and speculations of philosophers," he goes directly to the word of God, and finds there "frequent intimations of a happier and better condition of the world, at some

future period, when peace and virtue shall universally prevail." It is not deemed necessary, nor indeed possible to say, precisely, to what degree of knowledge and virtue individuals or society may be advanced—to decide whether or not, there may be some exceptions to the general improvement; or how soon this glorious revolution in the character of men is to be effected—the doctrine that a great change for the better is to take place; that it has already commenced; accords entirely with our experience as well as the testimony of God.

And here we cannot but observe, how, that while Dr. Wainwright has expressed opinions agreeing on many subjects with those adopted by the distinguished Author of an admirable address (lately published in South Carolina,) "On the Character and Objects of Science;" on one, that of the comparative merits of ancient and modern literature, his views widely differ. He remarks:

"Now we must acknowledge, that in some respects the world has not improved. It is hazardous enough, to claim for the literature of modern days an *equality* even with that of ancient times; but to say that our poetry or eloquence surpasses that of Grecian or Roman fame, is madness.—And when we look at the works of art, and human ingenuity and labour, the ruins of Persepolis, the pyramids of Egypt, the simple majesty and beauty of the Parthenon, or the sublime grandeur of some great Cathedral, raised, in Gothic times, as a temple to the Most High; we must acknowledge, that the labours of modern days sink into comparative nothingness."

Mr. Grimke, on the contrary, is of opinion, that

"Bossuet, Bourdaloue and Massillon; Pitt, Sheridan, Fox, Erskine and Canning, fear no comparison if liberal and candid, with Demosthenes, Pericles, Socrates and Cicero. Schlegel has ranked Shakspeare above all the dramatists of antiquity; while the critical judgment and accomplished taste of the Edinburgh Review, has styled Milton the first of Poets. *Whenever the world shall judge boldly and independently, candidly, liberally, the decision must be in favour of the masters in literature and science, who have arisen since the Fifteenth Century.* Whether in abstruse and comprehensive, or in refined and elegant speculation; in profound, energetic, logical reasoning; in powerful, commanding, persuasive eloquence; in the intellectual and imaginative poetry; in the descriptive and pathetic; in practical wisdom; moral, international, or political; civil social, or domestic; in these arts which employ, while they improve and bless the people; in a



word, in all that makes man industrious and useful, virtuous and happy, and prepares him for the service of God, his fellow men, and of posterity— if with a view to these things we contemplate the great men, who have arisen since the year 1500, we must acknowledge them unrivalled by the ancients.”

We have marked a part of the last quotation, because in the sentiments there expressed, the author of the Discourse entirely concurs.

“When were the rights of man so well understood; when were the principles of a sound philosophy so universally disseminated; when was there such a vast proportion of intelligent and thinking beings; when was there ever such active exertion to remove moral evil, and to accomplish, as far as possible, the happiness of every individual of the human family? Never. We have fallen, my brethren, upon happy times,—unspeakably happy, compared with any that have before existed. The idea of a former age of peace, and happiness, and wisdom, called the golden, is all a foolish imagination. There never has been an age, (great as present evils are) yet there never has been an age as wise, as peaceful, or as happy as the present. And why may not future ages have successively the same advantage over those which preceded them? There cannot be a retrograde motion now, because we are improving upon right principles, and we have only just begun to improve.

“Let me here introduce a few observations from the pen of an able christian philosopher of the present day. ‘There are three agents which will soon be entwined with the issues of all human affairs, and are the very hinges upon which the moral world will speedily turn. The three things, in which the present age excels the ancients, are the Inductive Philosophy, Printing and Universal Education. Education and the press have only been employed to purpose, of very late years. Every year they have been making some improvements upon their former efforts; and as these are instruments capable of an indefinite perfectability, and as the art of using will enlarge with the use itself, it only requires to increase the number of printing presses, schools, and teachers, to accelerate to any pitch the rate of improvement. These two latter discoveries fit in together, and mutually render each other available. Printing, by its unlimited multiplication of copies, supplying materials for universal education; and universal education creating a demand for copies that proceeds without any assignable term. These are the two great means to bring about the moral revolution of the world; and these two powers are gradually moulding governments, and stamping them with the form and pressure of the age.’”\*

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\* James Douglas on Missions.

Dr. Wainwright proceeds to show, that if the physician, the civilian, the merchant, the agriculturist reasonably expect improvements in their several professions or occupations, the Christian may with no less propriety look for greater and wider results than have been realized from the gospel. Observe the operation of Christian faith upon some individual, and you may conclude, with entire confidence, that its general prevalence would prove of the utmost benefit to mankind. "Suppose that several Christian nations were to act consistently with their profession, should we be so disturbed by wars, and so often behold garments rolled in blood?" And why should not all this come to pass? Consider what has been effected by the art of printing and the power of steam. And shall we, Christians, expect less wonders to be accomplished by the Gospel? Let us hear what has been done, within a very short period, in the Islands of the South Pacific.

"The intelligence of the past year enables us to say, definitively and positively, that the influence of christian missions has driven idolatry entirely from *twenty-one* islands. Their inhabitants are no more alarmed by the noise of war, nor by the shriek of victims immolated on the altars of demons; and they have been taught to read and write, and to make provision for the necessities, the decencies, and the comforts of life. Some thousands have been introduced into the christian church upon a credible profession of piety. When one island had received the gospel, its inhabitants exerted themselves to send it to another. The intelligence of the past year states, that a missionary society of one group, and that not the largest, contributed in a single year, of the productions of the country, to the value of more than a thousand dollars; that thirty pious natives had gone as missionary teachers to islands and a people, which to them were strange and foreign; and that thirteen missionary stations are occupied by native missionaries alone."

"Now, my brethren, in the contemplation of this, and multitudes of similar descriptions from all quarters of the globe, may we not feel encouraged to place a full trust in the words of prophecy? But what do I say? Trust in the words of prophecy! Dare we distrust them! Whose words are they? Whose spirit pronounced them? Whose veracity is staked upon them? Whose power is put forth to accomplish their execution? No, my brethren, we dare not distrust the words of prophecy. As surely as the waters of the ocean reach from pole to pole, and from continent to conti-

ment, so surely will the knowledge of the Lord make its way to all kindreds and nations and people; and wheresoever it makes its way, so surely will it promote peace on earth, and good will towards men."

Inspired with such sentiments, the respected author of this Discourse, urges all "joyfully and energetically to put their hands to every work which can help forward the civilizing and christianizing of the world." The objects of the AFRICAN MISSION SCHOOL SOCIETY he regards as eminently recommended, both on the ground of their practicableness and utility. The following observations are equally candid, liberal, and just.

"Africa I regard as a region of peculiar interest to us, and one which presents to us peculiar obligations to care for its moral and religious improvement. We are indeed separated from it by an immense ocean, but we have taken its children from their homes, we have held them in bondage, we have obtained large portions of our temporal comforts and luxuries from the labour of their hands. We are all, to a certain degree, involved in the guilt of injustice towards this much suffering people. I say *we*, for I cannot on this point make a line of distinction. I would indeed on every point forever forget the terms north and south, as terms of national distinction, but most assuredly upon this. For here we are under a like condemnation. Slavery once polluted the now free and untrammelled states of New England. And why has it not remained the curse of our land?—Because we were wiser, or loved freedom better, than our southern brethren? No, but because the climate of New England was healthful, and the white man could labour beneath its sun, and no pestilence drove him from its marshes.

"Let us not then boast of our exemption from responsibility, and from whatever may be the criminality of possessing a slave population. Let us rather look upon the cause as one of common interest, and the question how we are to alleviate the evil, as one of common obligation. Let us have no criminations and recriminations. We are brethren of one family, and the faith of Christ commands us to bear one another's burdens. Let all animosity subside, and let us address ourselves to that question, as it presents itself to me, of awful importance, how we are to be preserved from the effects of the gradual increase of our coloured and slave population."

But what is to be done? Immediate and universal emancipation will find few, if any advocates, among judicious and reflecting men.

"The colonizing of Africa is our only hope. It is the only means by

which a drain is to be made to carry off our surplus coloured population.— This measure has received the sanction of the wise and good throughout our country. It matters not that some have entered into it with selfish views, and that they would prosecute the colonizing of free people of colour from the southern states, in order to secure a more effectual power over the slaves. This has been urged as an argument against the Colonization Society by many in our part of the country. But very inconclusively, as appears to me. I doubt not that there are selfish and ignoble beings, who are actuated by such motives, and who have no true love of liberty—and no regard to the condition of the poor African. But what matters this, so as the project itself be a good one, and be calculated to effect the object we desire. It should not suffer, because others enter into it with baser motives than our own.”

And can any thing be more evident than the truth and importance of the following remarks of our author, in behalf of the **MISSION SCHOOL SOCIETY**? If there is *one* which we would wish qualified, it is that in which allusion is made to the destructive influence of the African climate upon the constitutions of white men, and their unfitness (in consequence of their colour) for useful exertions among the native tribes. That the danger to the life of the white man who fixes his residence in Africa is great, we admit; and that among the remote tribes of the interior, his complexion might render him an object of disgust or suspicion, is possible; yet, we have seen white men in health after having lived for many years at Sierra Leone, and we are confident that superior intelligence and influence is generally attributed to such, among the natives of the coast. Whether, therefore, the propagation of Christianity in Africa without delay, is not an object, for which some white missionaries, able and devoted, might commendably expose themselves to the dangers of the climate, is a question which seems to us to merit, at least, consideration. Still we would lose no time in preparing young men of colour for this work, which we doubt not, is to be effected principally by their exertions. Sincerely do we hope and pray, that our concluding extract from this eloquent Discourse, so honourable to the head and heart of its highly esteemed author, may excite new interest in the cause of African Education, and secure to the *African Mission School* that liberal support which it requires and deserves.

"But to make colonization effectual, it is not sufficient that the arts of civilized society be carried to a new country: the Gospel is also needed.—I will not insult your understandings and your religious principles by arguing this point. You know, better than I can declare to you, that civilization without christianity is valueless—nay, you know that the former cannot subsist without the latter. To be civilized, a country must have religion, and this religion must be christianity. Now where is Africa, dark, degraded, ignorant Africa; where is it to obtain this blessed gift? How shall they hear without a preacher, and how shall they preach except they be sent, and how shall they be sent except by our exertions? All this has been felt—the appeal has been made—funds have been raised and appropriated—and still greater sums could be collected for this noble purpose. But, alas, we cannot use what we now have—we cannot obtain missionaries. The want is universal. It is felt sensibly in Great Britain as well as in our own country. But a short time since, letters were addressed to different persons from the Church Missionary Society, stating that they had looked anxiously to this country for missionaries, catechists, and schoolmasters—they wished for pious, intelligent, and active men of colour for this purpose, and stood prepared to give them an ample support. The white man, as we are convinced from melancholy proof, cannot endure that climate; and besides, his colour, which is associated with the idea of disease, unfits him for usefulness among most of the tribes. The call then is loud for African Missionaries throughout the christian world. Now, to supply this deficiency so universally and so deeply felt, the African Mission School Society has been projected. It is not intended to interfere with any Society already established; nor to take upon itself, in any degree, the direction of missionary enterprises. Its sole object is to select and prepare instruments for them. Its hope is, in the present year, to obtain a few pious and intelligent young men of colour, and to educate them with reference to the propagation of the Gospel in Africa. The leading object in such a plan of education should be, to fit them to become teachers of the Word of God in simplicity and purity. Learned and accomplished theologians are not needed for this work; but pious, humble, devoted men, deeply instructed in the Gospel scheme of salvation, and familiar with the oracles of truth in our English version—such will make useful and effective missionaries. In addition to this, we would give them a knowledge of the first principles of the useful sciences and arts; viz. botany, mineralogy, surveying, civil and municipal law, and political economy. Nor should the attainment of an adequate manual dexterity, in the performance of agricultural and mechanical labour, be neglected. These qualifications may be of great importance in aiding the native tribes in their approaches to civilization, and in gaining a desirable influence over them.

"If, by the present undertaking, we can prepare a few individuals each year, who can be rendered useful in the great work of renovating Africa,

we should think that our society has occupied ground, at present vacant, with a structure, which, however humble, promises to be eminently serviceable to the cause of civilization and christianity.

"As a citizen of this country, I can look at Liberia, and rejoice at the beneficial influence which the prosperity of that colony is destined to exercise upon our coloured population. As a citizen of the world, I can rejoice that another continent will soon be added to the domain of civilization. But as a disciple of Christ, I can infinitely more rejoice that the gospel is there advancing. I see it carried swiftly along the coast of Africa; I see it penetrating the remotest deserts and forests of that benighted continent.— I see it demolishing cruel and degrading superstitions, overthrowing the altars of Moloch, and carrying in its progress, peace and virtue and happiness, to regions, where brutal ignorance and vice now bear sway. In this view, I can almost forget my abhorrence of slavery. I can almost feel reconciled to the thought, that our forefathers unjustly and cruelly tore these hapless people from their homes, and brought them to our shores. If we can send them back with the Gospel of Christ, and thus give them, as a reward for their extorted labours and long continued suffering, the pearl of great price, our guilt will be lessened, and our condemnation will be taken away."

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From the address of the Executive Committee of the **AFRICAN MISSION SCHOOL SOCIETY**, it appears that measures have been taken to put this school into immediate operation. A suitable building has been engaged—the Rector and Teacher have been appointed; and the Committee are prepared to receive applications for pupils. The school will be opened about the 20th of the present month.

There may, perhaps, be some objection to the place (Hartford, Connecticut,) selected for this school, on account of its distance to the north, though in every other respect it has peculiar advantages. We understand, however, that it may, should it on the whole be deemed expedient, be ultimately removed to one of the middle states. We insert the Constitution, Officers, and By-Laws of the Society, that our readers may have a full view of this very interesting Institution.

#### *Constitution of the African Mission School Society.*

ARTICLE I. This Association shall be called the *African Mission School Society*.

ART. II. Its objects shall be, to establish and maintain a School for the instruction of suitable persons of African extraction, with reference to their becoming Missionaries, Catechists and Schoolmasters in Africa, under the direction of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

ART. III. The Society shall consist of persons paying annually the sum of two dollars; or the sum of twenty dollars at one time, which shall constitute them members for life.

ART. IV. The President of the Society shall be the Bishop of the Diocese in which the School is established; and in his absence, the chair may be taken by any other Bishop who may be present.

ART. V. There shall be three Vice-Presidents, whose duty it shall be to preside, when neither of the Bishops shall be present, and who *ex-officio* shall be directors.

ART. VI. Twenty-four Directors, half clergymen and half laymen, shall be elected at the annual meeting. Any person, paying the sum of fifty dollars, at any one time, shall have the privileges of a Director.

ART. VII. The Bishops of the Church shall be *ex-officio* Patrons; and all other persons who shall pay \$100 at one time. They shall have a right to be present, and to vote at all meetings of the Society, or of the Board of Directors.

ART. VIII. A Treasurer and Secretary shall be chosen at the annual meeting, and shall be resident in the place where the school is situated.

ART. IX. There shall be annually chosen by the Board of Directors, ten persons, six of whom shall be resident in the place where the school is established; and these, together with the President, the Secretary and Treasurer, shall constitute the Executive Committee. Of this Committee, five shall be a quorum for the transaction of business.

ART. X. The Board of Directors shall meet annually on the day before the first Thursday in August, at such time and place as the President may designate; and shall make report of their proceedings to the annual meeting of the Society, which shall be held on the evening of the following day.—The Board of Directors shall also meet during the session of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, at such time and place as may be designated by the President; to which body, an account of the proceedings of the Society shall be rendered triennially. At all meetings of the Board, nine shall constitute a quorum.

ART. XI. The Executive Committee shall carry into execution the ordinances of the Board of Directors, and shall have power, during the recess of the Board, to perform acts and make regulations, to which the Board is competent. It shall meet at the call of the President, and in his absence, at the call of three of its members. Its proceedings shall be submitted to the Board at every meeting of the same.

ART. XII. The Board of Directors shall enact By-Laws for their own

regulation and that of the Executive Committee. They shall also appoint the Rector and Teachers of the School, and prescribe the course of study.

*Resolved*, On motion, that the meeting proceed to appoint the officers named in the above Constitution:

Whereupon, the following gentlemen were appointed:

*Patrons, ex-officio.*

THE BISHOPS OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

*President, ex-officio.*

RIGHT REVEREND T. C. BROWNELL, *Bishop of the Diocese of Connecticut.*

REV. J. M. WAINWRIGHT, D. D., of N. Y.	} <i>Vice-Presidents.</i>
HIS HONOUR T. L. WINTHROP, of Boston.	
STEPHEN WARREN, Esq. of Troy, N. Y.	

*Directors.*

REV. N. S. WHEATON,	GEORGE BRINLEY, Esq.
— HARRY CROSWELL,	DR. J. C. WARREN,
— G. W. DOANE,	EDWARD A. NEWTON, Esq.
— ALONZO POTTER,	PETER A. JAY, Esq.
— DR. MILNOR,	PETER KEAN, Esq.
— GEORGE UPFOLD,	HORACE BINNEY, Esq.
— DR. TURNER,	J. B. ECCLESTON, Esq.
— L. S. IVES,	FRANCIS S. KEY, Esq.
— DR. MONTGOMERY,	SIMON GREENLEAF, Esq.
— DR. WYATT,	JAMES BOWDOIN, Esq.
— DR. MEAD,	HENRY ROGERS, Esq.
— DR. GADSDEN,	SAMUEL SLATER, Esq.

S. H. HUNTINGTON, Esq., *Secretary.* | CYPRIAN NICHOLS, Esq., *Treasurer.*

The meeting then adjourned.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors of the African Mission School Society, held in Christ Church, Hartford, on the evening of the 7th day of Aug. 1828, the following gentlemen were appointed the Executive Committee:

*Executive Committee of the African Mission School Society.*

REV. N. S. WHEATON,	DR. J. SMITH ROGERS,
— DR. WAINWRIGHT,	C. SIGOURNEY, Esq.
— HORATIO POTTER,	S. TUDOR, Esq.
— G. W. DOANE,	W. H. IMLAY, Esq.
— H. HUMPHREYS,	E. A. NEWTON, Esq.

S. H. HUNTINGTON, Esq., was appointed Secretary to the Committee.

On motion, *Resolved*, that the Executive Committee be empowered to prepare a code of By-laws, to be presented to the B'd. at its next annual meeting.

*Resolved*, That the Executive Committee be governed by said code of By-laws until the next annual meeting of the Board.

*Resolved*, That the Rev. N. S. Wheaton be, and hereby is, appointed Rector of the African Mission School, for the year ensuing.



*Resolved*, That the Executive Committee appoint a Teacher, and take measures to collect funds, and to carry said School into operation.

*Adjourned.*

Pursuant to the above resolutions, the Executive Committee held a meeting on the 11th of August, when they appointed Mr. H. Spencer, Teacher of the School—adopted a code of By-laws, and an Address, which, with extracts from the By-laws, was ordered to be printed, together with the proceedings of the meeting, and of the Board of Directors.

*By-Laws for the government of the Executive Committee.*

It shall be the duty of the Rector to visit the School once a week, and of the Executive Committee as often as once a month—to inquire into the literary progress, and the religious character and conversation of the pupils.

The Instructor shall reside and lodge in the same house with the pupils, with the privilege of taking his meals elsewhere. He shall also superintend their education, and direct and assist them in their studies according to the plan which shall be prescribed by the Executive Committee.

No pupil shall be admitted into this School except he have attained the age of 18, and can read the English language with facility, and can write, and has acquired some knowledge of the rules of common arithmetic.—He shall also produce to the Executive Committee satisfactory testimonials of his exemplary religious character, and of his possessing such intellectual endowments as will, in all probability, render him useful in the capacity of Missionary, Catechist, or School-master.

The pupils shall be required to board in the house provided for them by the Committee, and to pursue their studies with diligence. They shall be under the immediate care of the Instructor, to whose directions and admonitions they shall pay a due obedience. It is expected that their conduct will not only be orderly and decent on all occasions, but in an eminent degree exemplary, as becomes Christian disciples.

The stated religious exercises of the School shall be daily morning and evening prayer, with reading of the Scriptures, by the Teacher, in the presence of the pupils; all of whom shall be required to attend. They shall also be constant in their attendance on the public services of the Church.

The pupils shall be required to labour at some mechanical or agricultural employment, at least two hours in the day, as the Committee shall direct.

Should it appear to the Executive Committee, after a reasonable trial, that a pupil is disqualified for usefulness in Africa, by a want of piety or of intellectual endowments, they shall have power to dismiss him from the Institution.

Whenever the Committee shall judge any of the pupils qualified for usefulness in Africa, as a Missionary, Catechist, or School-master, they shall give notice thereof to the Executive Committee of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.

## From Liberia.

Despatches have arrived from the Colony, by the "All Chance," Capt. Russel, and the Brig *Liberia*, Captain Sharp, bearing dates up to the 22nd of July, which give very favourable views of the health and prospects of the settlement. In a letter of the 18th of June, the Vice-Agent, Rev. Lott Cary, writes—

"I found it necessary, in order to preserve the frame of the second floors of the Government House, to have the frame and ceiling painted, which is now doing. I have also been obliged to employ another workman to make the blinds, or else leave the house exposed the present season, as — refused to do it under the former contract. On the 13th I visited Millsburg,\* to ascertain the prospects of that settlement; and can say with propriety, that according to the quantity of land which the settlers have put under cultivation, they will reap a good and plentiful crop. The Company's crop of rice and cassada is especially promising. The new settlers at that place have done well; having all, with two or three exceptions, built houses, so as to render their families comfortable through the season. They have also each of them a small farm, which I think after a few months will be sufficient to subsist them. But I find from a very particular examination, that we shall be obliged to allow them to draw rations longer than I expected, owing to the great scarcity of country produce, the cassada being so nearly exhausted, that it is, and will be, impossible to obtain, until new crops come in, much to aid our provisions, unless by going some distance into the country. Therefore I think it indispensably necessary, in order to keep the settlers to their farming improvements, to continue their rations longer than I at first intended; as I consider the present too important a crisis to leave them to neglect their improvements, although it may add something to our present expenses.

"The people at Caldwell are getting on better with their farms than with their houses. I think some of them are very slow, notwithstanding I have assisted them in building. The Gun House at Caldwell is done, and at present preparations are

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\* Mills & Burgess.

making for the Fourth of July. I think that settlement generally, is rapidly advancing in farming, building, and I hope, in industry. Our gun carriages are done; the completion of the iron work alone prevents us from mounting them all immediately. We have four mounted, and I think we shall put them all in complete order by the end of the present week.

"Captain Russel will be able to give something like a fair account of the state of our improvements, as he went with me to visit the settlements on the 13th and 14th, and seemed pleased with the prospect at Millsburg, Caldwell and the Halfway Farms.

Mr. Warner, who has been engaged nearly the whole of the last twelve months on business of negotiating with the native tribes to the leward, is at present down at Tippicanoe, the place which I mentioned in my former communications, as being a very important section of country, since it would connect our Sesters and Bassa districts together. He is not, however, now engaged in business of negotiation, but only in business of trade."

In his letter to the lamented Mr. Ashmun, Mr. Cary states—

"Things are nearly as you left them; most of the work that you directed to be done, is nearly accomplished. The plasterers are now at work on the Government House, and with what lime I am having brought down the river, and what shells I am getting, I think we shall succeed.

"The Gun House in Monrovia and the Jail have been done for some weeks; the mounting of the guns will be done this week, if the weather permits.

"The Houses at the Halfway Farms are done; the Gun House at Caldwell would have been done at this time, had not the rain prevented, but I think it will be finished in three or four days. The public farm is doing pretty well. The Millsburg farms are doing very well. I think it would do you good to see that place at this time.

"The Missionaries, although they have been sick, are now, I am happy to inform you, recovered; and at present are able to attend to their business, and I regard them as entirely out of danger.

"I hope we shall be able to remove all the furniture into the new house in two or three weeks."

June 25th, Mr. Cary writes—

"About three o'clock to day, there appeared three vessels—two brigs and a schooner. The schooner stood into the Roads, and one of the brigs near in, but showed no colours until a shot was fired by Captain Thompson; when she hoisted Spanish colours, and the schooner the same. All their movements appeared so suspicious, that we turned out all our forces to-night.—About eight this evening it was reported that they were standing out of our Roads, and at sunset that the schooner had come to anchor very near the "All Chance," from Boston, and that the brig which had passed the Cape, had put about and was standing up, trying to double the Cape, and that the third vessel (a brig) was standing down for the Roads. The first mentioned brig showed nine *ports* a side. From all these circumstances I thought best to have Fort Norris Battery manned, which was immediately done by Captain Johnson. I also ordered out the two volunteer companies, to make discoveries around the town, and the Artillery to support the guns and protect the beach; which orders were promptly executed, and we stood in readiness during the night. At daylight the schooner lay at anchor and appeared to be making no preparations to communicate with us; I then ordered a shot to be fired at a little distance from her, when she sent a boat ashore with her Captain, Supercargo, and Interpreter. She reported herself the Joseph, from Havana, had been three months on the coast trading, but *not for slaves*, had one gun and twenty-three men. Also, that the brig was a patriotic brig in chase of her, and that through fear she had taken shelter under our guns. The Captain wished a supply of wood and water; but I told him I knew him to be engaged in the slave trade, and that though we did not pretend to attempt suppressing this trade, we would not aid it, and that I allowed him one hour, and one only, to get out of the reach of our guns. He was very punctual, and I believe before his hour."

Speaking of the celebration of the Fourth of July in the Colony, under date of the 15th July, Mr. Cary remarks—

“The companies observed strictly the orders of the day, which I think were so arranged as to entitle the officers who drew them up to credit. Upon the whole, I am obliged to say, that I have never seen the American Independence celebrated with so much spirit and propriety since the existence of the Colony; the guns being all mounted and painted, and previously arranged for the purpose, added very much to the grand salute. Two dinners were given, one by the Independent Volunteer Company, and one by Captain Devany.”

To the Secretary of the Society, July 19th, Mr. Cary writes—

“I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, forwarded by Captain Chase of Providence, also your Report and the Repository, directed to Mr. Ashmun, but owing to his absence, they have fallen into my hands; and permit me to say, that these communications are read with pleasure, and that nothing affords more joy to the Colony, than to hear of the prosperity of the Colonization Society, and that you have some hopes of aid from the General Government, which makes us more desirous to enlarge our habitation and extend the borders of the Colony.

“I must say, from the flattering prospects of your Society, I feel myself very much at a loss how to proceed, in the absence of Mr. Ashmun, with regard to making provisions for the reception of a large number of Emigrants, which appears to be indispensably necessary. Therefore, after receiving your communication, we conceived the following to be the most safe and prudent course. *First*, to make arrangements to have erected at Millsburg, houses to answer as receptacles sufficient to shelter from one hundred and fifty to two hundred persons. I have therefore extended the duties of Mr. Benson so as to embrace that object. I was led to this course from the following considerations. *First*, from the productiveness of the Millsburg lands and the fewness of their inhabitants. I know if Mr. Ashmun were present, it would be a principal object with him to push that settlement forward with all possible speed, and that for this purpose, he would send the emigrants by the first two or three expeditions to that place. I think that those from the fresh water rivers, if carried directly after their arrival here, up

to Millsburg, would suffer very little from change of climate.—*Second*, the fertility of the land is such a temptation to the farmer, that unless he possesses laziness in its extreme degree, he cannot resist it; he must and will go to work. *Thirdly*, it is important to strengthen that settlement against any possible attack; and though we apprehend no hostilities from the natives, yet we would have each settlement strong enough to repel them.

“I am happy to say, that the health, peace and prosperity of the Colony, I think, is still advancing, and I hope that the Board of Managers may have their wishes and expectations realized to their fullest extent, with regard to the present and future prosperity of the Colony.”

*July 17.*—“If I could be allowed one suggestion to the Board of Managers, I would mention the importance of having here for the use of the Colony, a vessel large enough to run down as low as Cape Palmas. It would, I think, be found to save a very great expense to the Society. She might occasionally run up also to Sierra Leone.

“Until we can raise crops sufficient to supply a considerable number of new comers every year, such an arrangement as will enable us to proceed farther to the leward than we have ever done, in order to procure supplies, will be indispensably necessary; as there we can procure Indian Corn, Palm Oil, and live stock. For these, neither the slave traders nor others, give themselves much trouble. Corn can be bought there for from fifteen to twenty cents per bushel. Fifteen or twenty bushels which I bought of Captain Woodbury, I have been using instead of rice for the last two months. Besides, it can be ground into meal, and would be better than any that can be sent. Upon the supposed inquiry, will not the lands of the Colony produce Corn?—they will produce it in abundance; but with the quantity of lands appropriated at present, and the means to cultivate them, each land-holder will, I think, be able to raise but little more than may be required by his own family, and consequently will have little to dispose of to new comers.\*

“Permit me to inform the Board, that proposals have been

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\* It has been resolved by the Board of Managers to increase the quantity of land allotted to each settler.

made by a number of very respectable citizens in Monrovia, to commence a settlement near the head of the Montserado River, which would be a kind of farming establishment; which, should it be the pleasure of the Board to approve, would be followed up with great spirit, and found to contribute largely towards increasing our crops, for the soil is very promising."

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### Death of Mr. Ashmun.

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We weep, for a burning and a shining light is extinguished. The Colonial Agent, Mr. Ashmun, expired at New Haven, (Con.) on the 25th of August.

Having announced this mournful event, we feel inclined to silence; for we can say nothing which will adequately represent the worth of our Friend's character, the moral sublimity of his death, or the loss which it has occasioned to that holy cause which owed so much to his exertions. A very brief and imperfect sketch of his life however, may perhaps show the necessity, and excite the desire for a more particular and extended biography; and thus contribute, in humble measure at least, to prepare the way for those powerful effects which may be confidently expected from a full and a fair exhibition of his example.

JEHUDI ASHMUN, Esq., was born of respectable and pious parents in Champlain, New York, in 1794. In childhood he was thoughtful and reserved, remarkably fond of books and extremely ambitious of literary fame. At the age of fourteen he commenced study, in preparation for college, under the instruction of the Rev. Amos Pettingill, the worthy minister of his native place, to whom we are indebted for some interesting facts in his early history. He made rapid progress, and gave promise of distinction. At this time he appears to have indulged doubts concerning the truth of Christianity, and intent upon the accomplishment of selfish purposes, was regardless alike of the service and the honour of God.

But it pleased God to show him the glory of his perfections,

and to make him tremble before the power, the justice, and the goodness, which he had offended. In view of his sins, he felt the worth of Christ's Atonement, and was astonished that he had so long been insensible to his criminality and his danger, and utterly neglected the only means of salvation. When subdued by the truth and the grace of God, the vividness of his own impressions led him to believe that it would be easy to produce religious conviction in the minds of others, but having attempted to do this, he returned, like Melancthon, from the effort, grieved and disappointed. He no longer trusted in his abilities, and well nigh despaired of salvation. He was humbled; but the evidences of his faith soon became clearer to himself and to others, and he publicly professed his hope in the Saviour of the World. Henceforth, until his death, his belief in the great doctrines of Christianity appears to have been unwavering; and to exemplify their spirit and extend their influence, was deemed by him the noblest object of life.

Having pursued his studies with high reputation, both at Burlington and Middlebury Colleges, he graduated at the former in 1816, and without delay prepared himself for the ministry, and was soon elected a Professor in the Theological Seminary at Bangor, Maine. Owing to peculiar circumstances, his connection with this Institution was of short duration, though he ever remembered with devout gratitude, the deep religious interest which was excited by his preaching and his labours. After leaving the Bangor Seminary, he resided for some time in the District of Columbia, where he became a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church; conducted the editorial department of the Theological Repertory, and published his Memoirs of the Rev. Samuel Bacon, the earliest martyr in the cause of the Colonization Society; a work which exhibited unequivocal evidences both of talent and piety, and which thousands would have read with interest and advantage had they been informed of its merits.— Among the various subjects which at this time occupied his thoughts, was that of establishing a monthly journal for the American Colonization Society, the plan of which was matured, and the first number published. Sufficient patronage, however, was wanting to sustain it, and the work failed.

Thus did the Almighty conduct our Friend by unexpected



events to a situation, from which Africa presented claims to his services in a light and with a force which were well-nigh irresistible. By writing the life of Bacon, and becoming familiar with the object and proceedings of the Colonization Society, the miseries of Africa were disclosed before him, and his spirit was stirred within him at the sight. He embarked for the Colony in the Brig Strong, June 19th, 1822, and arrived at Cape Montserado on the 8th of August. He assumed the Agency at the most critical period in the history of the Colony, shortly after the little band of settlers had resolved at all hazards to retain possession of Montserado, and when both the previous Agents were on their passage to the United States. The difficulties of the Colony, and the extraordinary talent and energy evinced by the departed, under circumstances most trying to humanity, are justly and impressively described in the following passage from the very able Sermon delivered at his Funeral, by the Rev. Leonard Bacon.

“He found them almost without houses to protect themselves from the rains of their inclement season, which was then at its height, much less able to afford shelter for the new emigrants who had accompanied him. He found the establishment just ready to sink in disorder and dismay. The settlers were almost defenceless. The native princes, who had sold them the territory with the treacherous intention that they should not settle there, were threatening to destroy them, and were forming combinations for that purpose. In such an emergency it was, that he came to a work entirely new. He had been educated for the work of preaching the gospel. He had been a teacher in a literary institution. He was still a young man. And now he had come to place himself at the head of an unorganized, feeble, heterogeneous community. He was to act the Legislator;—he was to form and put in operation, a system of government; he was to sway the minds of this unformed mass of human beings, and mould them into unity; he was to make them freemen, and habituate them to the business of governing themselves. At the same time he must act the Soldier;—he must rouse in his little flock of once degraded men, the spirit of manhood and the enthusiasm of self-defence, and he must head them in the conflict. He must act the Engineer;—he must lay out the fortifications

of his little city, and superintend their hasty construction; he must take care that the very dwellings—even the temporary huts and shelters of the people—are constructed with reference to security from the enemy, and facility of defence in an assault. All this must be commenced at once, for delay was ruin. And just as all this was commencing, the fever which attacks almost every man on his first arrival from a temperate to a tropical climate, attacked him and the fifty emigrants who had come with him, with uncommon violence. They were all sick—sick without a physician—sick without any proper shelter from the rains—sick almost without medicines. His own wife, among others, was soon carried to the grave. But for him, and for all, there was no time to relax their efforts. Even in sickness and distress, there could be no respite. Their works must go on; for, daily and nightly, they were expecting that an army of savages would be upon them. While prostrated by disease, in the lucid intervals between the returns of delirium, our friend was compelled to rise from his sick bed, to inspect the condition and progress of these operations, to receive reports, to give out orders, to reanimate the weary and desponding, and to superintend all the affairs of this dismayed and distressed community. All this he did; and when at last the fever had left him in extreme debility, and he was just beginning to recover strength, the danger which they had been so long apprehending, came. About three months after his arrival, when their defences had been only partially completed, and when their entire effective force was thirty-five men and boys, they were attacked at the dawn of day by a force of at least eight hundred armed savages. They were taken by surprise, and the enemy were almost in the midst of them before the alarm was given. By an effort of desperate valor, directed by the extraordinary self-possession and energy of our departed friend, the enemy were driven off, and the settlement on which were suspended so many hopes of humanity and religion was delivered. A few days afterwards, while the wounded were still helpless, and the well were exhausted with constant fatigue and watching and alarm, the enemy returned with redoubled numbers and redoubled rage for their destruction; and again, by a valour and energy which would do honour

to the history of any man or any people, they were repulsed, and utterly defeated.

“I have thus described the commencement of his labours and sufferings in Africa, because there is no other way in which I could so well describe his character: inasmuch as it is only by what a man has done, that we can ever distinctly understand what he has been. And what sort of character it was that could act thus in circumstances such as these, it is not difficult to divine. Let me say then, that the same energy, the same self-possession and promptitude, the same exhaustless diligence, the same vigor and quickness of intellectual power, the same courage amid difficulties and dangers, have been exhibited in all his labours there. The establishment which he found on the brink of extinction, he left in prosperity and peace. The little colony which he found defenceless, weak and trembling with dismay, he left so strengthened, as to be safe against any probable attack by land or sea. The people whom he began to rule when they were few, unorganized, and disunited, he has successfully trained to habits of discipline, and taught to enjoy the blessings of rational liberty and real independence. And how well he has governed that people, how happy he has made them, how he has drawn their affections round him, their grief at his departure can testify. One of their own number, in whose hands our friend, on leaving the colony, placed the administration of affairs, thus speaks of the occasion of his embarkation for his native country. ‘The Colonial Agent, went on board the brig *Doris*, March 26, 1828, escorted by three companies of the military, and when taking leave he delivered a short address which was truly affecting. Never, I suppose were greater tokens of respect shown by any community on taking leave of their head. At least two-thirds of the inhabitants of Monrovia, men, women and children, were out on this occasion; and nearly all parted from him with tears. In my opinion; the hope of his return in a few months, alone enabled them to give him up. He is indeed dear to this people, and it will be a joyful day when we are permitted again to see him.’ Ah that day! What grief will be theirs, when they learn that they shall see his face no more.”

When we consider the small number and undisciplined cha-

racter of the colonists, the actual sickness of many of them, their almost defenceless condition, the strength of the combination against them, and the resolution with which it was brought to act for their destruction; when we recollect, that during all the preparations for an attack, Mr. Ashmun was scarcely able to rise from his bed, yet that every arrangement must be made by him, and indeed most measures executed under his own eye, we cannot indeed fail to admire the directing skill and energy by which the settlers were enabled to repel successfully and even triumphantly the repeated assaults of the barbarians. It is our candid opinion, that the courage and ability exhibited by the late Colonial Agent in the contest described in the preceding extract, have very seldom, if ever, been surpassed. The result established his character among all the neighbouring tribes, and made his name a terror to the chiefs who would gladly have violated their solemn engagements could they have been sustained by any reasonable hope of plunder. But in the 'single white man' on the Cape, they saw a power with which they dared not trifle; which controlled by justice, held conscience as an ally even in treacherous bosoms; and thus weakened its enemies while they knew it not, and frustrated their schemes as by spiritual agency. It was a power which they not only feared, but respected. In the presence of that white man, who at the head of a little band, untrained to war, had withstood their furious onset, and filled the hearts of several hundreds of them with dismay, they felt the influences of christian kindness; saw manifested principles of moral power, to which they were before strangers; which must prove firm ground for confidence and the safeguard of the good, but which indignantly rebuked every species of falsehood and crime. They observed that these principles had an unchangeableness of character, which mere regard to expediency could not produce; and were told of that Omnipotent Father, in whose revelation they are inculcated, and who requires his creatures to discern and to imitate (at least to aim at imitating) the rectitude and beneficence of his own perfect character.

It is indeed our conviction, that among the various means which Providence has been pleased to select and employ for the security and improvement of our infant Colony, whether we look at its internal arrangements or external relations, none,

perhaps, has been more efficacious than the elevated Christian principle of the Colonial Agent.

To exhibit distinctly, fairly, and completely, the character of our lamented friend, and to present an adequate view of his proceedings, with their results, during his residence of more than six years in Africa, would require not a few pages, but a volume. From the hour when he landed in Africa to that of his re-embarkation for his native country, he evinced a sacred devotedness to the cause for which he died. He appeared from the first, to form a clear conception of the greatness of the object to be accomplished by his labours. Hence, his plans were comprehensive and perfectly developed to his own mind, the means of accomplishing them well ascertained and arranged beforehand, so that in executing them he could readily exemplify his own maxim, that the "great key to success in business was to aim only at effects." Placed at the head of a small community formed principally of unlettered men, some of them sadly degraded by their past condition, widely separated from the Christian World, exposed to the deleterious influences of heathen tribes, just ushered into circumstances designed to prepare them for an independent political existence; it was his to create (we had almost said) their social character; to kindle in their souls public spirit and the sentiments of honourable action; to excite industry, enterprise and courage; to shape and polish the rough materials before him, and give to them order, strength, and union. He must provide for the permanent defence of the Colony. He must survey its territory, and allot to each settler the farm which he is to cultivate. By every method of economy must he direct the scanty means which the Society has entrusted to him, to meet the demands of the Colony, yet incapable of furnishing provisions for its own subsistence. Emigrants are expected, and buildings must be erected for their temporary accommodation. Public labour is required, and the expense of it can be defrayed only by the most skilful management and a scrupulous regard to the credit of the Agency. A system of government is to be set in operation; officers to be appointed and instructed in their duties; courts of justice established in which the Agent must preside; ordinances to be enacted in relation to subjects various and often new; schools to be founded;

negotiations conducted with the natives, for the purposes of trade and the extension of territory; and full and accurately detailed statements of the wants, the improvements, and the prospects of the Colony, to be frequently prepared and transmitted to the Society. But to all this complex machinery, principally depending for its movements upon the mind of the Colonial Agent, and which could not be regulated without familiar acquaintance with all its parts, must be added the entire concern for the Recaptured Africans; involving high responsibilities, and not to be conducted without a serious amount of care and labour. But to our lamented friend belonged a mind prepared for every effort of which humanity is capable; which could adapt itself to every variety of circumstances, and which, governed by motives from beyond the world, was not to be overwhelmed or broken in its powers, by the mere shocks of temporal calamity. On all occasions did he exhibit a lofty spirit of SELF-CONTROL, which no influences of earth could reach; which preserved his faculties undisturbed, unclouded, and prompt to engage with their entire energy in every work of duty;—a *versatility* of talent which enabled him to turn from one subject to another, from the severer and more perplexing to the lighter and humbler parts of business, with graceful ease; *decision*, seldom unfortunate, because resting upon clear and accurate judgments; *industry*, which reckoned moments invaluable, and was, perhaps, never exceeded; a *perseverance* which adhered with unyielding tenacity to its object; and an *activity* and *laboriousness* which permitted no one mental power to remain unemployed, but which gave constantly to each and every such power its full effect. A burning and unquenchable ardor to make the most of life, glowed within his bosom; and even the stranger could not fail to discern in the light of his features, and the deep-toned expressiveness of his language, the enthusiasm which pervaded and moved his soul. And this enthusiasm was kindled by devotion. It was *Piety*, in its genuine and sublime influences, elevating the affections to the Eternal Spirit, and deriving from holy meditation upon the Divine Mind, some resemblance of its perfection; which gave to our friend's character such dignity, worth, and power. We must leave it to another age to estimate the value of his efforts.—Something of their importance is indeed manifest to us: a pros-

perous Colony established upon sure foundations; twelve hundred individuals, once excluded from the higher blessings of existence, now freemen indeed, and blessed with all the motives which rouse the soul to useful and virtuous action; wondering heathens assembling to learn the lessons of our Faith, and catch the spirit of the Gospel; a great and enlightened nation waking its dormant energies to consummate a most holy work of charity; *these* are effects already visible, and obviously in great measure, perhaps, mainly, resulting from his exertions. But it is only by looking to the future, by indulging reflections on what with the favour of Providence our infant Colony is destined to become, by contemplating our own country as relieved from a most oppressive evil, and Africa made an empire of truth, liberty and virtue, fruitful in works of righteousness and joyful in christian hope, that we form even a faint conception of the importance of what the deceased has done, or the loss which both Humanity and Religion have sustained by his death.

But however dark, in this event, may appear the ways of Providence, their wisdom and benevolence is not to be questioned. And we trust as our friend did not live, so he has not died in vain. Those who stood by his death-bed can never forget the moral sublimity of the scene. He survived but fifteen days after his arrival at New Haven, and these were days of great bodily weakness and occasionally of distress; but his soul preserved a majestic tranquillity and clearness, gathering brightness and purity as he approached the grave, from the light of that world which he was so soon to enter. His sufferings appeared to be well nigh forgotten, while his duties were constantly remembered. To expressions of human applause or even of approbation, he would not willingly listen, and with profound humility he remarked, "I do not know of any such thing as self-righteousness; I can rely only on the righteousness of Christ." Soon after his arrival, he expressed a strong desire, if it might be the will of God, to return to Africa; but subsequently, seemed only anxious to finish his work and have his spirit prepared for the great transition. Indeed, for several days, his remarkable patience, his entire resignation, his deep self-abasement, his affecting devotion, and his holy magnanimity, astonished the beholders and they felt themselves in the presence of one who

could adopt the language of Paul, "none of these things move me; for I am ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand." On the last day of his life, while the writer of this sustained him as he sat up, the perspiration flowing from his pallid brow and every feature expressing death, he offered up his last supplication in terms most solemn and affecting. A few words uttered with perfect distinctness have been preserved.

*Prayer.*—"O my Heavenly Father, look mercifully upon thy afflicted servant, and do not lay upon him that which through weakness he is unable to bear, but let thy grace be sufficient for him. May he desire communion with thee above all other blessings. Bless my friend here present; keep him in thy service, and graciously reward him for all his kindness. O bless all those who have shown a tender concern for me in this place, and all my relatives and friends, and let them never come into condemnation. O bless the Colony and that poor people among whom I have laboured. Grant to me, O merciful Father, saving faith, sanctifying faith, and glorify thy great name in my eternal salvation. Grant these blessings, O God of Grace, for the Redeemer's sake, who suffered for us, and to thee shall praise be given, through all eternity, through all eternity. Amen! Amen!"

During the evening of his departure he conversed with several gentlemen who visited him, gave instructions concerning an African lad rescued by him from pirates, and who had accompanied him on his voyage, and neglected nothing which seemed to demand his attention. Just before twelve he sat up, made one or two requests and when reclined again upon his pillow, almost instantly slept in his Saviour. Not more gently does childhood sink to rest, or daylight fade from heaven. Not more simply and majestically does the sun finish his course, when he goes down amid the brightness of a cloudless sky.

Blessed be God; the example of our friend survives him, and shall survive him, until the end of time. Thousands shall be excited by it to apply themselves to the holy work of Africa's regeneration; and when this shall be accomplished, when a free,



an enlightened, and christian people, shall cover that continent, now buried in darkness and in crime, the name of ASHMUN, shall be a word everywhere familiar, even to infant lips; a name, loved, admired, and venerated, while the coloured race exists, or a human voice is heard in the dwellings of Africa.



### **Pecuniary Wants of the Society.**

It will be absolutely impossible for the Board of Managers to effect the important purpose of despatching a vessel with emigrants to the Colony this Autumn, unless they shall soon be favoured with more liberal contributions. Applications for a passage are almost daily received from respectable coloured persons, which cannot, without increased means, be satisfactorily answered. Every Auxiliary Society, and all our friends, are then, at this time, earnestly appealed to for that aid, without which, many now waiting to embark, our own hopes, and public expectation, must be greatly disappointed.



### **Colonial Agent.**

We have the pleasure to announce the fact, that Dr. RICHARD RANDALL of this City, a highly respected member of the Board of Managers, has been elected to succeed the late Mr. Ashmun in the Colonial Agency at Liberia. He is expected very shortly to embark for the Colony, and enter without delay upon the arduous duty of his station, and we fervently pray that a good Providence may be his safeguard, and preserve him for eminent usefulness among those over whom he has been called to preside.



### **Note.**

We are compelled for want of room, to postpone several articles, with the usual list of Donations, to our next number.

THE  
**AFRICAN REPOSITORY,**  
AND  
**COLONIAL JOURNAL.**

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**VOL. IV.      OCTOBER, 1828.      No. 8.**

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**Review.**

*An Address delivered at Springfield, before the Hampden Colonization Society, July 4th, 1828. By WM. B. O. PEABODY, Esq. Published by request of the Society.*

THE practice of men is generally no better than their principles. The character of the latter, then, is regarded with reason as of supreme interest to human society, and worthy of the anxious and undivided attention of every individual. And though correctness of sentiment is not always and universally connected with virtuous conduct, yet the last is not to be expected, where the first does not exist.

Christianity is a perfect religion. The whole field of human duty is marked out by its laws; and he cannot err who will in all things, and with an unbiassed mind, follow the clear light of its precepts. Still we cannot deny that the professed advocates of this Religion seldom do it justice by a full exemplification of its worth.

The subject of Mr. Peabody's address is "the reason of the imperfect influence of Christianity on the public relations of men." This leads him to speak of slavery and war, which he remarks, "have grown up together; which still outlive many

of the abuses that Christianity has overthrown; and which will not be divided in their fall, when our religion governs the world."

"I may as well say in the beginning, that I am speaking simply of the relation of slavery, and the practice of war. I am not complaining of the owners of slaves; they cannot get rid of them; it would be as humane to throw them from the decks in the middle passage, as to set them free in our country. Neither do I condemn defensive war; it rests upon the right of self-defence, which individuals possess, and may delegate to governments if they will. I have no taste for sweeping condemnation. I can sympathise with the owners of slaves, and admire the patriotic defenders of their country, while I detest war and slavery with all my heart."

That these evils exist even among those who enjoy the benefits of Christianity, occasions no surprise to the Author of this address. And the reason is "that Christianity has no more authority among men, than they choose to allow it," and that this is by no means equal to what it claims; that it enjoins on us all some duties which we leave undone, and demands sacrifices and efforts which we have neglected to make.

"The first reason that Christianity has had so little effect upon war and slavery is, that men regard the letter more than the spirit of the religion. They are apt to measure and weigh their duties, that they may learn how far they *must* go; and how much can be left undone. Many have tried to show that these things are not directly prohibited in scripture, taking for granted that every thing not forbidden in so many words, is allowed. This reasoning has had and still has great effect; and yet it would be easy to show that a man might be thoroughly abandoned, without seeming to violate the letter of the Christian law. Christianity does not attempt to push back the rushing torrents of passion; it goes to the fountain head, and checks them when they are just beginning to flow.—*Whence come wars and fightings among you?* If they come from your lusts and passions, Christianity forbids your indulging these passions, and thus prohibits war. It forbids slavery, when it commands men to be just and kind to each other; and this is enough for one who desires to know and to do his duty."

But the man who has properly studied Christianity, and thoroughly imbibed its spirit, will not be inclined to evade the strictness of its requirements. He will as Mr. Peabody remarks, trace the broadest possible outline of his duty, and fulfil it to the

utmost of his power." Such a man cannot fail to perceive, that we are bound by Christianity to do good unto all men as we have opportunity, and to aim at placing all in circumstances, favourable to their temporal happiness and spiritual improvement.

"Another reason of the limited influence of Christianity is, that it requires great Christian principle to make men abandon vices, and very little to make men disapprove them. They content themselves with simply disapproving their own sins. But do you consider it much, for a man to condemn his own vices? No such thing! You know that even the guilty will go as far as this, without the least idea of reforming their lives. Yet we fall into precisely this error in regard to public opinion; we consider it a matter of triumph when the general sentiment sets strongly against any prevailing sin. A triumph perhaps it is; but not half so great as we imagine; for long after men have learned to condemn the public reproach, you find it nevertheless impossible to make them cast it away."

"It is mere romance to suppose that the influence of Christianity is felt, when men only cease to condemn their crimes. But if we can see this point gained, it is something; it may encourage us to redouble our efforts to bring about the desired reform. Still we must not regard the nations as fully persuaded to be Christian, because they tremble for a moment like Felix before the eloquence of Paul; for though Christianity simply condemns the practice; men, influenced by Christianity, must go so far as to put down the practice; for right judgment is not the same with right conduct; and men must act upon their principles, before they can deserve the name of Christians.

"A third reason of the limited influence of Christianity is, that we consider this point as gained already.—We think that the public feeling is sufficiently alive to the criminality of slavery and war, and that no exertions are necessary to add to the prevailing conviction of their guilt. I must say that we take praise to ourselves too soon. Christianity can do but little to reform the world, if men are so easily satisfied with their success. I look in vain for the proofs of this general condemnation of these gigantic sins. I see on the contrary a lofty and enthusiastic interest every where excited by deeds of battle and blood. I see the guilty paths of great destroyers, traced upon the map with breathless emotion; I see the finest productions of earthly inspiration growing out of this corruption, like wild flowers from the heaps where the bodies of the slain decay, and the warmest reverence the world can give, lavished on those, who trample most widely and carelessly on the rights and feelings of men. We may say that we admire not the destruction nor the guilt; not the field shaken with artillery and slippery with blood, but the great intellectual energy displayed in guiding the vast masses of human power; this will not do; for great energy should be detest-

ed for its alliance with crime, rather than crime be forgiven because united with energy. The public religious feeling must be pronounced unsound, so long as men can admire these splendid sins; and it is absolutely impossible for one who worships these destroyers, to have any real reverence for the gentle greatness of the Son of God. Still I see this delusion every where spread. I see these magnificent outlaws gazed on by Christians with overpowering admiration, while the fair fame of mere defenders of their country seems dull and tame beside them. Even that man to whom this land is more indebted than to any other; whose name might be pronounced here, without taking the place in vain; I see that his greatness, beside that of heroes as the world calls them, seems cold and lifeless as the marble from which they have hewn his form.

"Neither is public opinion more decided on the subject of slavery. There are not many who will say that the relation of master and of slave is defensible in itself, but there is no general sense of the importance of using every endeavour to remove the necessity which is its only justification.

"I do not doubt that masters treat their slaves with kindness, nor that the slaves are happier than they could be if set free in this country; I believe that many a slave-holder would rejoice to throw off the burden; but they should never forget, that when the necessity which now weighs upon them exists no longer, no humanity on their part will atone for their holding man in bondage."

But another reason is specified by our author, why Christianity so imperfectly regulates human conduct, which is perhaps the most formidable, particularly as it regards any attempts to remove the great evils, principally considered in the Address.—We are well convinced that an able and judicious work on the influence which Christianity should exert on Governments and all the relations of political society, would prove a noble contribution to the best interests of mankind. Many things there are, which go to make up what is called National Honour, which deserve (as is observed by the Author,) "the curse which David breathed upon the mountains where the *mighty had fallen*." The obstacle to which we have alluded, is mentioned in the following extracts, which merit the most serious consideration.

"Another obstacle to Christian influences has been, that men have applied a different morality to public and private affairs. In private concerns they profess to follow Christianity; but in public relations they have made up a different standard of right and wrong; a standard of interest and convenience, founded on the right of power. Thus we hear measures defend-

ed on the ground of necessity, in which there is no necessity, except what oppression creates for itself; thus, belligerents claim a right to plunder neutral vessels trading with their enemy; thus private property is free spoil on the seas, while all civilized nations profess to respect it on shore. In more peaceful relations there have been equally unsocial and unnatural opinions; thus it was formerly, perhaps is still believed, that one nation could not increase in wealth except in proportion as others lost.

“What influence can Christianity have on public relations, where such maxims are tolerated or forgiven? The law of nations is only an enlargement of the rules of justice and kindness that are binding on individuals. Is a man who has a quarrel with a neighbour, justified in preventing all others from trading with that neighbour? Does any man feel as if he had personally a better right to rob and steal on the water than on shore? Yet such is the claim of belligerents, and such the piracy which is called privateering and reprisal. Does any one think that there is no such thing as fair exchange between individuals; that no man can prosper in business except by injuring others? Does any one think it right to involve all his friends in misery, because some trifling insult has been offered to himself? Such is the duellist's principle. More profound absurdities than these cannot be imagined; still they rise up in the world, and set bounds to the influence of Christianity. But Christianity requires the same of nations as of individuals; and if any nation under pretence of barbarous precedent or selfish interest refuses to submit to it, *that nation's God is not the Lord.*

“But one reason of the limited influence of Christianity on public relations perhaps includes all the rest that can be given. Where is there a Christian nation? where is there a community to exert this happy influence? I know that many individuals every where are faithful, and there are many regions where religion is honoured and regarded; but I know of none on the face of the earth, where Christian principles govern, nor where the spirit of Christianity prevails against the spirit of selfishness and the world. Where is the fear of God foremost among those thoughts which every day pass over the hearts of men by millions? where do men even think of doing to others as they would have others do to them? What community maintains on the whole such a character as our religion is designed to form? In a Christian country, the law of God should be at least as well obeyed as the law of the land; but if the laws of the land were as often and fearfully broken as those of Christianity, society could not hold together. Christian communities then must not be expected to remove these evils from the world.”

But how are we to reform society and bring our holy religion to act in and throughout all its departments? How are the great evils which all seem to regret, but which are so deeply founded, and so powerfully sustained, to be overthrown and destroyed?

"Some may suppose that these vicious institutions are too firmly established for Christianity to attack them, with any hope of success; that they have a grasp which can never be unclenched from the habits and affections of men. A strong grasp they certainly have even now; but what was it a century ago? The world has outgrown them, and begins to see their folly, if not their guilt. The truth seems to be, that they derive their principal strength at present, from the strange reverence with which men regard them, as institutions founded in the nature of man. There has been neither heart nor hope in the exertions made to put them down "

The true method of bringing these institutions to an end, is by candid and sober argument; by showing their inconsistency with the holy precepts of Revelation, and how injurious is their influence upon the interests of mankind. And surely if any people were ever bound to exhibit a lofty and spotless example of public justice, and public charity, to stand forth as the firm advocates and supporters of all that is right, honourable, and christian in the institutions and operations of society, it is the people of this favoured land.

"When I reflect on the prosperity of the people of this country, such prosperity as the world never saw before, there seems to rest upon us a momentous weight of obligation to God. When I see the vast tracts subdued by man from barremess unto verdure and beauty, and liberally rewarding his care; when I see the villages gathering their abodes of plenty and peace, round the spires that rise like banners of love above them; when I see the wild streams tamed and led to turn the sparkling wheels of labour; when I see the sails on every wave of ocean, bringing home through their beaten paths, the learning and luxuries which our own land fails to supply, when I see the mighty cities that throng our shores, filled with the refinements of the old world, and far too much of its corruption; when I think of the vast reach of our country's boundaries, the magnificence of its military preparation, and the navies bearing its thunder to the utmost limit of the deep; I leave it to others to boast of this growing power; these things remind me of a responsibility, such as never rested upon any people. I look for the gratitude which this unmeasurable blessing should inspire, for mighty efforts in the cause of humanity and religion, at least for an attempt to efface the wide and deep stain that now covers half our country, such as no other Christian nation now tolerates within its bounds."

We need hardly say that Mr. Peabody's Address is an excellent one. May its spirit universally pervade and animate the minds of our countrymen.

## **The Power of Religion.**

The following sketch will be read with interest, not merely on account of the remarkable facts related, but as coming from the pen of the late lamented Colonial Agent, Mr. Ashmun.

### *Magnalia Dei evangelii sempiterni.*

L. C. a black man, has been a member of this Colony since the beginning of the year 1820. He had made a profession of religion in America, but never, since I knew him, either discharged its duties, or evinced much of its spirit, till within the last ten months. He was a man of good natural sense, but wretched in the extreme, and the cause of equal wretchedness to his young family. His wife, naturally of a mild and placid temper, failed in almost every thing to please him, or prevent the constant outbreaks of his morose and peevish humour.—He was her tyrant—and so instigated with malevolence, the vain conceit of superiority, jealousy, and obstinate pride, as to resemble more an Arab of the desert, or a person destitute of natural affection, than a person by education and in name a Christian.—As a neighbour, his feelings were so soured and narrow, as to render him disobliging, suspicious, and equally an object of general dislike and neglect. His heart was a moral desert—no kind affection seemed to stir within it—and the bitter streams which it discharged, had spread a moral desolation around him, and left him the solitary victim of his own corroding tempers.

Such an ascendant had these evil qualities over the other faculties of his mind, as in a great measure to dim the light of reason, and render him as a subject of the colonial government, no less perverse and untractable, than he was debased and wretched as a man. Several times have the laws which guard the peace of our little community, been called in to check the exercise of his turbulent passions, by supplying the weakness of more ingenuous motives. Still this person discovered, in the midst of this wreck of moral excellence, a few remaining qualities, on which charity might fix the hope of his recovery to virtue, usefulness and happiness. But these were few, and mostly of a negative kind. He was not addicted to profane discourse. He



allowed himself in no intemperate indulgences. He observed towards sacred institutions, a cold, but still an habitual respect; and strange as the fact may seem, he was laborious in his avocations, even to severe drudgery, and equally a stranger to avarice and a passion for vain ostentation. Whether these relieving traits of his character were the effects of habits produced by the influence of former religious impressions, or whether they were the result of constitutional temperament, or of education, is not for me to decide. But such was L. C. until the autumn of 1824, when not only a reform, but an absolute reversal, of every perverse disposition and habit in the revolting catalogue of his character took place. A more obliging and affectionate husband I am convinced, is not to be found on this Cape; few, indeed, in the world! And there is no appearance of constraint or affectation in this display of tenderness. It is uniform, untiring, cordial, and increasing, as far as it is permitted to any one except the Searcher of hearts to judge. In all his intercourse with his family and neighbours, he carries with him an inimitable air of sweet and profound humility. You would pronounce it to be the meekness of the heart springing from some deep-felt sentiment of the interior of the mind. But so far from abasing the possessor in the estimation of others, this very trait commands their respect and their love. It gives to him a value which he never appeared to possess before. Ten months have I now had daily opportunities to observe this altered man in a great variety of circumstances, and some of them, it must be confessed, sufficiently trying. In one instance I have had to regret and censure the appearance of that perversity which made an important part of his former character. But happily this fit of turbulence was of short duration; and some months have passed since, without witnessing a repetition of the infirmity. Were I this evening asked to name the man in the Colony, who would most carefully guard against offending, or causing even a momentary pain to any of his fellow men, I should not hesitate to say, that in my judgment, the man is L. C. On this point I insist, because it was precisely in his revolting and unfeeling churlishness, that his greatest and most incurable infirmity seemed to consist. I hardly need add, were silence not liable to misconstruction, that the duties and ordinances of religion are matters of his most devout and

diligent observance. How often have I been awaked at the dawn of Sabbath, by his devout strains of prayer and praise sent up from the midst of a little company of praying people, who at that hour assemble for religious exercises in a vacant building near my residence. How sure am I to find him reverently seated in his place among the earliest who assemble in the house of God. What an active promoter of every commendable and pious design, is sure to be found in him. Every laudable habit, which had survived the general extinction of all practical virtue, seems to have acquired additional confirmation: and from the operation of higher principles, seems to follow of course, and derive the best guaranty of its continuance. I might go on to particularise—but it would only be to fill up the outline already sketched; and which, whether relating to his former or his present character, however imperfect, is strictly true. Ask of him the causes of so obvious and surprising a change; and he humbly, but unhesitatingly ascribes it wholly to the power of the Divine Spirit, operating, he cannot tell how, but evidently by means of the word and ordinances of God, upon his whole mind. Such was the origin of this great moral renovation—and such are the agency and means by which its effects are sustained, and under the operation of which they are beginning to combine into a habit of holiness. He rejoices in the hope of its duration to the end of life, solely, he would say, from the confidence he has in the immutable love and faithfulness of the Holy Being who has wrought so great a work in him. And let philosophers cavil and doubt if they must: but this man's example is a refutation in fact, of a thousand of their sceptical theories. He is a new man—and the change was effected chiefly before discipline, or example, had time to work it. He is an honest man; and soberly asserts, that to his certain knowledge, he did not perform the work himself. But where is the example to be found, of *such* and *so great* a change wrought by mortal means? The history of the human race is challenged to produce it. To God then, who created man; to Christ, who redeemed him; and to the Holy Ghost, who sanctifies him, be ascribed without abatement, or reserve, the power and the grace displayed in this and every similar instance of the conversion of a blind, and hardened, and wretched sinner.

*Monrovia, July 3d, 1825.*

## **Letters from Liberia.**

We published in our last, several extracts from the communications of the Vice-Agent, the Rev. Lott Carey, received by the 'All Chance' and the 'Liberia.' The same vessels brought letters from several of the Colonists; some of the more interesting portions of which, we now offer to our readers.

Those who have perused our numbers will recollect, that a new settlement has recently been founded, about twenty miles from the coast, on the river St. Pauls, called Mills & Burgess, or by contraction, Millsburg. The condition and prospects of this settlement are thus represented in a joint letter from several individuals who have taken the lead in its establishment.

"We have to inform you, that we have in good cultivation twenty-four acres of rice, cassada, cotton, corn, and other vegetables, and our crops promise better than any which have been raised since we have been in Africa; but had we come up to this place one month sooner, possessed of tools enough, we should have been much farther advanced in cultivation than we now are; but we now see that here is land that will produce good crops of corn, rice, and many other things that are of great use to us. We have seen enough to convince us that we are doing well for the time. We must, however, inform you that ten acres of land is not sufficient for a farm. Here are large tracks of land which no persons inhabit. We have travelled about fifteen miles northeast, and found no person whatever; nothing but old country farms, and good brooks of water, and good land for cultivation. As we have made more discoveries for the good of the Colony than any other set of men, we take the liberty to request that you would give us more land, as we intend to pursue cultivation; for without cultivation we cannot prosper.—Although times are hard with us just now, yet we must do the best we can; as we came out to Africa to plant a nation in the deserts of Africa, and as there are many waiting in America for us to clear the forest, we wish our rights for our children in law, which we hope you will grant us. As there are mill seats here, we wish you would send to us saw mills, running gear for the same; also ox chains, reaping hooks, grass scythes, and stone

hammers from 9 to 10 lbs. weight, with seeds and grains of all kinds. Our rice is now shooting, and in six weeks we hope to be eating it."

Another very respectable settler at Millsburg, after specifying several kinds of vegetables, (among which, are cucumbers, water mellons, beans, potatoes, radishes, and squashes,) which were growing, and most of which had been sent, in considerable quantities, for sale to Monrovia, writes to Mr. Ashmun—

"The improvements made, by the favour of Providence, at this place, are the admiration and astonishment of the whole Colony, at present. You are too well acquainted with new settlements to be at all surprised when I say to you, that the expense of the Company has not been less than 100 bars per month to each individual; but we are determined to risk all that we have or can accumulate, for the accomplishment of our object. As it respects Millsburg, there are now about 24 acres of land under cultivation in rice, cassada and plantains, peas, cucumbers, mellons and other vegetables, also cotton.

"Sir, the creek, on the bank of which we landed at your discovery of this place, I have found to be a powerful stream of great extent in the Pessa country. There are many fine mill seats in our new territory, and also on the other side of the River. It would be almost incredible if I were to state the many advantages which are here visible to men of research. Nothing appears to be wanting but means and men of industry, and in a short time the whole of the present Colony might be supported by its own inhabitants along the banks of the noble Dey, and in the adjacent country."

Another Colonist at Monrovia writes:

"The farms, particularly at Millsburg, are in the most promising way that any have been, since I have been in Liberia. I wish you and the Hon. Board of Managers would make some inquiries, whether it would be prudent and safe for me to trust a vessel across the Atlantic with our stripes and cross, and whether we would be subject to foreign duties on tonnage; as Mr. — and myself are about contracting for a schooner, and we wish to be very particular, and not to move until we shall hear from the Board, as the subject is important, particularly in regard to the duties. The commercial interest of the Colony is

increasing hourly, and we would like to hear from you by the first opportunity."

Another, at the same place, writes—

"Our business is going on in a prosperous way, especially our agriculture. The crops, both at Caldwell and Millsburg, appear very promising. I have at Stockton and at Millsburg about seven or eight acres of rice and cassada; the rice, on an average, is about as high as my shoulders, and heading beautifully."

Another, to the lamented Mr. Ashmun writes—

"It is with the utmost pleasure, that I seize the present opportunity to forward to you a few lines, to inform you that my health has been unusually good ever since the solemn hour you left our Roads, and also of my sincere desire to learn that your health is restored, and that you meet with the greatest prosperity in all your undertakings. The Colony is much in the same state as when you left it. Provisions of all kinds are very scarce in the Colony; but the Farmers at Millsburg are making rapid progress, and at every return of a canoe send more vegetables than can be bought up by the people of the Cape under three or four days."



## Extracts from Correspondence.

From numerous letters, making application to the Society for a passage to Liberia, in behalf of many free people of colour in the south and west, we publish the following extracts, in the hope that they may produce a deeper and far more general conviction of the necessity of augmenting the resources of our Institution. Hundreds of persons, well recommended for their moral and industrious habits, are waiting for an opportunity to emigrate, while the Society is left without the means of affording them a passage. Shall this continue to be so?

*From a Gentleman in South Carolina.*

In this town and its neighbourhood, are large numbers of free people of colour. Favourable reports of your Colony having reached them, a spirit favourable to emigration has been evinced. By desire, and in behalf of some of them, I take the liberty to address you.

I have received the names of thirty-five, including parents and children, that are desirous, apparently, to emigrate. There are fourteen grown persons, and the rest from fifteen years down to infancy. One is an able-bodied young man, just out of his apprenticeship to a carpenter. Some are ordinary labourers, and some accustomed to boating. Of their moral habits I cannot speak particularly; but have informed them that none will be received except such as can produce certificates of honesty and sobriety. If they can be taken by you, efforts shall be made to have them as well provided for as their circumstances will allow.

*From another in the same State.*

There are thirteen free negroes in this district, who wish to obtain a passage to your Colony in Africa, of whom I am guardian. They are well able to maintain themselves, and they may be of some service to the Colony, as one of them is a good shoemaker, and three others handy with carpenters' tools. They will carry out tools with them, if permitted, and also household and kitchen furniture.

*From a Gentleman in Virginia.*

A family of coloured people in this county, who have been recently emancipated by will, are desirous of emigrating to Liberia, and of knowing whether the arrangements of the Society will allow of a passage this fall. This family amounts to 16 in number.

Perhaps no persons could afford better materials for a new settlement than those who are now asking your aid. They were born and have lived in the neighbourhood which they are proposing to quit, without a reproach upon their good name; but, trusted by their owners and neighbours for their industry and honesty, they have long formed, in their habits and characters, a prominent and creditable exception from the degraded class to which they belong. Occupying poor land, remote from any vicious examples, the subsistence which they have supplied for themselves and owners, has been the product of a labour, the steadiness and economy of which bespeak the success of their exertions in the new and improved theatre to which they are asking to go.

*From a Gentleman in the same State.*

I write at the request of a large family of free people of colour, who reside in this county and the adjoining one. The family consists of three brothers and their families. Two of the old men are yet married, and have between them thirty-three children. From a long conversation I had with one of them, I judge him to be uncommonly intelligent. Though he is not a mechanic by trade, yet he is a tolerable blacksmith. Some of the rest are carpenters and some masons. The old man told me, he had no idea of being benefited himself by any change, and was only anxious to go to the Colony on his children's account. I have been informed by a gentleman living near them, that they are, with one or two exceptions, steady and industrious, and that the old man stands high in the opinion of all who know him.

*From another in the same State.*

At a meeting of the Board of Managers of the Auxiliary Colonization Society of this place, I was instructed to open a correspondence with you, in relation to a letter recently received by the Board from a free man of colour, in an adjacent county, expressing a desire to go to Liberia. In his letter, he remarks, "I am now in my 49th year, and infirm. I have ten children, and two grand children; all of which, I wish to have conveyed, with myself, to the new African Colony; but am not able, nor do I know how to proceed. There are twelve families of free people of colour in my neighbourhood, consisting of thirty or forty persons, who say, that if I will break the ice, and start, they will bear me company; and they are all young people but two."

In addition to the internal evidence afforded by the letter itself, we have the verbal assurances of those who know him, to the same effect, and, what is of more consequence, of his strictly upright character and industrious habits.

I think, Sir, that it is all-important for the advancement of this great scheme of humanity, that as many as can be induced to emigrate from this section of country, should be accommodated.

*From another Gentleman in the same State.*

I am very sorry that your funds are so low; the more so, as here are so many valuable free people of colour, who are prepared to emigrate, both here and at Richmond and Petersburg. Several families of them have sold their property, and some of them have purchased house frames and goods to carry out with them. Amongst these people is a number of valuable mechanics and intelligent and industrious men. They are daily inquiring of me, if I know when a vessel will be despatched. Some of them have lately come down from both Richmond and Petersburg, to make inquiries; but I have been unable to give them any information.

*From a coloured Minister in the State of Tennessee.*

Having been highly favoured by Divine Providence, we may be said to be ready to set out for Western Africa. I believe my family are all quite willing to go. We are waiting with great anxiety to hear the words, Go on! to the place of embarkation. Having made preparations for removing, it would be better for us to set out now, than to remain here. Dear Sir, if you know whether a vessel will sail for Monrovia this autumn or not, you will greatly relieve my mind by giving me immediate information.

**African Teak, and Indigo.**

The following notices of those valuable productions of Africa, we have discovered in the Sierra Leone Gazette of 1825.

Anxiously desirous for the promotion of the timber-trade of this colony, which we are happy to see is rapidly rising into importance, we have much pleasure in inserting the annexed extract of a letter relative to the comparative qualities of Oak Wood and the Teak of this country. We apprehend, however, that A SUBSCRIBER is in error as to the two squares being of the same weight. We have always understood, that oak is much lighter than our teak: and, as a proof of it, that the former will float of itself, which is not the case with the latter.



*To the Editor of the Royal Gazette.*

MR. EDITOR: I send you an extract of a letter from a house of the first respectability in London, to a timber merchant of this colony, which discloses a fact that seems not to be generally known, and which, if it were, must considerably advance the character of African Teak.

"We think it interesting to you to communicate the following particulars of an experiment made by a most respectable and clever shipwright of this city, to try the effect of the loss of weight and size by the action of the atmosphere upon two equal squares of Oak and Teak Wood. The squares were each six inches, and each weighed 8lb. 3½oz. They were placed in a situation free from the rays of the sun, under a covering, and not subject to wet from rain. At the end of *three months*, the teak square weighed 7lb. 8oz.; the oak, 6lb. 6oz. At the end of *two years*, when they were re-weighed to satisfy our friend, the teak weighed 7lb. 2oz.; the oak, 5lb. 7oz. The teak shrunk 1-16th part of an inch, the oak 3-16th, during the space of two years."

This is an important practical result, and speaks volumes in favour of Teak.

A SUBSCRIBER.

*To the Editor of the Royal Gazette.*

MR. EDITOR: I beg leave to enclose for your information, and for that of the public, the copy of a memorandum given me by a gentleman on this coast, who had made repeated experiments on the indigenous Indigo of Africa, with the greatest success.—Some specimens which he sent home were declared to be equal to the Guatemala, and his process was precisely the same as that described in the enclosure.

I intend to make some experiments as soon as the Indigo is ripe, and think it would be well if some other farmers would do the same.

CIVIS.

(ENCLOSURE.)

"Take the leaf and stalk of the indigo, and press it in a case tight enough to hold water. When well pressed, pour some water on it, just enough to cover it, or about half an inch to an inch over. When it ferments, draw the spile or cock out of the

bottom, and let the water run into another case; when done beat it about till it forms little balls, then pour some lime-water in, which will cause them to descend. There ought to be, in this latter case three or four spiles. After it gets settled, take out the top one, and the liquor coming from it will be coloured, but clear; if thick, let it stop a little longer. Continue so to do till all the water is drawn off, you will then find the indigo at the bottom; which must be squeezed till the water is all out of it, then put it in forms fit for use; drying it in the shade, by no means to let it dry in the sun."



### Swiss Missionaries.

By the Brig Liberia, a letter addressed to the lamented Mr. Ashmun, was received from the Rev. T. F. Sessing, one of the five Swiss Missionaries in our Colony, an extract from which, we are sure will be read with interest and pleasure.

MONROVIA, JULY 22, 1828.

"*Dear Sir:*—I embrace this opportunity, the Liberia, Capt. Russel, in order to give you a short account of my and my brethren's welfare. Indeed, we do not know how to thank God for our health and life, which latter he has been gracious to preserve to this moment. And though my brethren all had an attack of the fever, and myself was several times indisposed, yet, at present, we are all in good health. This is indeed a privilege, which few white people enjoy on this coast. We do, however, rejoice with trembling, for the rainy and the dry season have a quite different effect on our constitutions; and I am afraid, my dear brethren will have another attack of the fever in the next dry season. But we are in the hand and under the care of our Lord and God; without his will, neither they nor I shall die.—The same hope, dear Sir, I have for you; namely, that you are not only amongst the living, but that your health is restored again, and that we shall soon have the pleasure of seeing you here in Liberia in full health and vigour! You may believe, there are many here, who long for your return; this I have heard from all, with whom I conversed. I myself, do not long less

for you, when I view the approach of our settling out in the enemy's country. With our present situation, though not very pleasant, we are satisfied. You will have received a letter from Mr. Devany some time ago, in which he, as I suppose, has stated the affairs of the building of the Missionary House.

"We five brethren live at present in two houses: brother Wulf and myself in Mr. Lewis's, and the brethren Handa, Hegele and Kissling, in the new house you have built for a Mr. Lewis in America. Those people, for whom you had the kindness to send a boat, proved almost all lazy, unfaithful, treacherous people, so that we were forced to send them away. They were not sent from Sierra Leone, neither by Mr. Hands, nor by any other missionary, but they only heard of my being here, and thought to live on the expense of a missionary's kindness, but such a kindness would be sin and unwarrantable. We have at present two Bassa boys.

"On two points yet, I would direct your attention. The first concerns our settling in the Bassa country, whither I myself with one or two of my brethren think to proceed after the rains. Should you be able and willing to answer this letter, would you be so kind and propose the best way, by what opportunity we may get down. Whether it is necessary that an authorized settler should accompany me to have a conversation with the King, about our staying in his country? What articles we are to take down with us at the first outset? It is very likely we shall want an oar boat—and so on. O! that your health and other affairs would permit you to return hither before that time; it would be my greatest joy to take the first step in your company and under your direction, in founding a mission settlement amongst the Bassas, and I know it would not be less yours.

"The second point concerns some provisions. I recollect, that you said, you would have the kindness to send us by the first vessel any kind of provisions we want. I, with my brethren, accept of your kind offer.

"But I hope very soon to see and to speak with you here personally. The Lord our only Saviour, supporter and preserver, be, and remain with you, dear brother in our Lord, and with your humble Servant.

"T. F. SESSING."

**Abduhl Rahahman, the unfortunate Moor.**

Some account has already been given of this individual, in our numbers for February and May, of the present volume.— We have mentioned his desire to obtain the redemption of his entire Family, and that he was on a visit to the Northern cities to solicit aid for this interesting object. We rejoice to perceive that the Rev. Mr. Gallaudet, Principal of the Asylum of the Deaf and Dumb at Hartford, and so well known to the public for his truly Christian and charitable enterprise, has generously devoted himself for two or three weeks past to this unfortunate stranger; examined and made himself familiar with his history; brought the facts in it before the public in New England; and finally visited New York, and at a large and most respectable meeting in the Masonic Hall, appealed powerfully in his behalf to the generous and the wealthy of that city.

The amount of \$2500 has already been collected, and at the conclusion of Mr. Gallaudet's Address, a committee of five was appointed to obtain from the citizens whatever additional sum might be required for the purchase of his family. We rely confidently upon the efforts of this Committee; and should the amount necessary, exceed in some degree that specified as probably to be demanded, we trust that it will be supplied, and that Prince will yet be restored with all his family, to his country and friends. Since the perusal of Mr. Gallaudet's Address, we have been gratified to find in several works on Africa, and particularly in the Sierra Leone Gazette, some statements which evidently corroborate the narration of Prince, though his reputation for veracity might, perhaps, be regarded as a sufficient guaranty to its truth. But before offering these to our readers, we invite their attention to the following extracts from Mr. Gallaudet's Address.

"While at Hartford the other day, Prince had an interview with Sterling, a well known aged African, who had been a soldier in the army of his father, and who corroborated many things, before mentioned.

"The account which I have received from Prince, is that he is a native of Tombuctoo, that interesting city in the very heart of Africa, and of which we know so little, a city respecting which the African Society has expended so much money, and to find which the unfortunate Mungo Park lost his life

"Prince was at Tombuctoo at the age of 17, and describes that city as being surrounded by a wall; that it was as large as New York; that it contained five mosques, numerous schools, several manufactories of steel and of gold; and that caravans were continually arriving. His grandfather, Almam (or Alimamy) Ibrahim, was king of Tombuctoo, which is the name of the territory as well as of the city. His father, Almam Ibrahim Jalloh, at the age of 22, was sent by his grandfather to make war upon the city of Susoo, 1200 miles S. W. from Tombuctoo, on account of some affront offered by the chief. Wars are carried on there by stratagem. The chief or king, seeing Almam by the side of a lake, fired at him with an arrow. The fire was returned; and as Almam, to use his own words, found it close shooting, he fell down as if dead. The king came and danced around him, according to the custom of the country. Almam having only feigned death, watched for an opportunity, drew his knife, slew the king, put his head on a pole, and carried it to the city. This appalling spectacle put the natives to flight, and the city was left in possession of Almam. On his return, he was appointed governor of that city. He went and took possession of it with a considerable force. He went back and forth several times. The third time he went back, Prince was born. His father had, according to the customs of the country, two wives at Tombuctoo, where Abduhl was born. He had a brother three years older, whose mother was a native of an inferior race.—As Abduhl was a full blooded Moor he took precedence and was considered the rightful heir to the throne. He was therefore sent back to Tombuctoo to be educated; and he represents the school to have contained upwards of two hundred pupils under four masters. They read the Alcoran, wrote on boards, attended to what they called Geography, to Astronomy, to calculations, to the Mahomedan Religion, and to the laws of the country.

"His grandfather lived to the age of 110, and had resigned the throne of Tombuctoo to his own brother, Almam Ibrahim *Danajoh*, so called from his white face. Abduhl had another uncle, Moorde Armadu, who was governor of the province of Massina, which is as large a territory as N. England. The first cousin of his father, Alpha Boomaree, was governor of Jenna, and his second cousin, Moorde Sulimana, was governor of Bambougo.—(Almam means king, and Moorde means governor.) This territory is famous for gold mines, and the governor was tributary to Prince's father, paying a peck of gold annually as tribute.

"I mention these circumstances, to show that Prince's family connections were persons of power and influence in Africa; and their territories stretched from Tombuctoo to Teembo, a distance of 1200 miles. At the age of 17 he was removed from Tombuctoo to Teembo; and at 19 he began to go to war. The king possessed a numerous troop. This statement is confirmed by the best geographer of the age, Malte Brun, who says that this nation, Footah Jalloh, of which Teembo is the capital, possesses sixteen thousand cavalry."

Mr. Gallaudet then relates the circumstances attending the first acquaintance with Dr. Cox in Africa; the return of this gentleman to the United States, the subsequent capture and slavery of Prince; the remarkable incident of his meeting Dr. Cox, more than 16 years afterwards near Natches; the interest which was thus excited among the charitable in his behalf, and his final emancipation through the liberality of his master.

He then observes,

"I would now ask if this is not one of the strongest cases that can be presented to our feelings. After an absence of forty years from his native country, during which long period he has been a slave in this land, Prince has a desire to see once more the land of his fathers, and to lay his bones among those of his kindred. It may be asked what are his intentions for wishing to go back. I will tell you. When he was lately at Boston he met a coloured free man from Liberia, who gave him intelligence from the territory of his early years. He told him his father was dead; that his brother Almam Abduhl-Gardre, who succeeded, died about 20 years ago; and that at the death of the latter the people wanted to make the son of Prince, whom he left a boy two years old in Africa, king. But he would not be king, he said: king no happy; drink nothing until the man who brings it drink first; eat nothing before the other eat first; never sleep twice in same room; have his bed made in one room, and when it is dark he get up and make his own bed in another room; trust nobody; no trust his wife, nor his son, nor his daughter: he no want to be king. He went away to Tombuctoo. They then took Prince's nephew, Almam Boorbarkar, and made him king. He is now the reigning prince; is 42 years of age; and is said to be a peaceable man, having had only one war during his reign.— This person told Prince that a ship which trades to England was named after his brother. This son of Prince is now a general in the army of his cousin the King. A road has lately been opened from Sierra Leone to the territory of Tombuctoo, (Teemboo?) 100 miles, and a brisk trade is carried on. In consequence of opening this road the slave trade has ceased in this part of the country, because the British preferred to take the productions of the country to slaves.

"The object of Prince in returning, is not to assert his right to the throne: he has seen too much of the dangers of the situation to attempt it at the advanced age of sixty-six. He has found too, what indeed might be found by any one, that happiness does not depend on one's rank. He proposes to have no other desire than to fix himself as a colonist at Liberia; to live and die under American protection; and to render this country what aid he can in promoting an intercourse between our colony and the interior. The late Mr. Ashmun learned that a road of 150 miles length had been made into the interior, just touching Footah Jalloh; the capital of which is 200

miles north of Liberia. When Prince arrives there it will soon be known that old Abduhl Rahahman is alive, and is come back, with his family. His relations at Tombuctoo will hear of it. Think you his son will not go to see his aged father, whom he supposes to be dead? He doubtless will; and when the peaceful intentions of the old man are ascertained, no apprehensions will be excited among his relations. They will invite him to visit the land of his youth; an intercourse may be opened between Liberia and a territory as large as New England, the capital of which, Teembooh, is as large as Baltimore; and probably this intercourse may be extended through a line of posts, where the relations of Prince are the chiefs, even to the city of Tombuctoo. It may be the means of securing advantages to our trade, to scientific curiosity, and to benevolence. I ask then if humanity and patriotism do not urge us to render assistance to Prince for the hospitality afforded one of our own countrymen. There is a higher motive: a commercial intercourse, that may be opened, will strike at the root of the slave trade. It has already, as has been stated. Let us make it for the interest of Africans to pay for their purchases in the productions of their country. We may be able to dispose of our own manufactures and products in exchange for hides, ivory, beeswax, indigo, and dye stuffs, which abound there. We may be able to extend our commercial relations to the very heart of Africa, and the influence of our institutions also. As christians we must especially rejoice that an opportunity will be afforded for diffusing the blessings of christianity to that dark and benighted region. Prince recollects that at Tombuctoo no one is disturbed for religious opinions, and that the Alcoran had given the people a curiosity to see the Bible. It is already printed in Arabic, the language of that district. During all his trials, Prince has not forgot his Arabic, but reads it fluently, and writes it with neatness. The finger of God seems to point to great results arising from the return of Prince. His life appears like a romance, and the incidents would be incredible if the evidence was not so undeniable. We see in these events that God's ways are not as our ways, nor His thoughts as our thoughts. We see why Prince was not permitted to return with his Moorish disposition and his Moorish sword; that Providence continued him here so long until grace had softened his heart. He will now return a messenger of peace. Blessed be God that we are permitted the honour of co-operating with Him. Methinks I see him like a Patriarch crossing the Atlantic, over which he was taken a slave 40 years since, with his flock around him, and happy in the luxury of doing good. I think I see benighted Africa taking her stand among the nations of the earth. I think I see Egypt, as heretofore, pouring a flood of light into Greece, and Carthage arising in former glory. I think I see Africa, one hand pointing to the tablet of eternal Justice, making even us Americans tremble, while the words are pronounced, 'Vengeance is mine; I will repay saith the Lord;' and with the other hand pointing to the golden rule of the gospel, which if all

practised, happiness would result to individuals as well as to nations, and the efficacy would be felt throughout the world: 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them. "

Mr. Gallaudet states that Prince saw a man in Boston, recently from Liberia, [Sierra Leone?] who informed him that his brother, ALIMAMY ABDUHL-GADRE, who had been King of Foota Jallo, died about twenty years ago, and that the nephew of Prince succeeded him, and is now on the throne. By reference, however, to the Sierra Leone Gazette of 1825, we find the following notice.

"Intelligence, which we are assured may be depended on, has arrived from the Foulah country, stating that ALIMAMY ABDUHL-KADRE, King of that country, is again in Teembo. Bocar, the usurper, it appears, evacuated the capital on the approach of the superior army of the King, without risking the chance of a battle, and has retired into the northern provinces, where his adherents principally reside. The *peaceable, unwarlike disposition* of ABDUHL-KADRE renders him very unpopular among his subjects, and might prove fatal to him, were it not counterbalanced by the youth of his rival, who, in their estimation generally, is much too young for a King, not being above forty years of age."

In another Gazette of the same year, it is stated that

"A nephew of ALIMAMY ABDUHL-KADRE arrived in the Colony last week from Teembo; he was accompanied by a numerous train of traders, who sought the protection of his name and influence for the safe conduct of their caravans." Speaking of the object of the visit, the Editor observes, "It is not to be imagined that two great POWERS like that of the ALIMAMY of FOOTA JALLO and this Colony, can any longer suffer themselves to be bearded and insulted by such petty chiefs as inhabit the tract of country lying between them."

It is probable then that the BROTHER of Prince is now living and on the throne of Foota Jallo. This country (according to Watt and Winterbottom, who visited its capital, Teembo, in 1794) is "about 350 miles from east to west, and 200 from north to south. The climate is good, the soil is stony and dry; about one-third is extremely fertile, and produces rice and maize, which the women cultivate and the men carry to market



in loads of 1½cwt. which rise four feet above their heads. Their cattle, horses, mules, asses, sheep and goats, pasture on the hilly grounds, which contain considerable quantities of iron stone. They dig and manufacture a species of iron, which is extremely malleable. At Laby and Teembo, which is about 160 miles distant from Sierra Leone, they manufacture narrow cloths, of which their dress is composed, and work in iron, silver, wood, and leather. Their houses are well built, neat and convenient; placed at a distance from each other, to guard against fire; a precaution which never occurs to the Mandingoes. Among their amusements, horse racing may be enumerated. The markets and channels of trade are under the regulation of the king. As there are schools in every town, the majority of the people are able to read, and many possess books of law and divinity.—They profess the Mahometan Religion, have numerous mosques, and are not bigots though they pray five times in the day.

On a sudden emergency, the Foulahs can bring into the field 16,000 cavalry. As they are surrounded with twenty-four nations, many of whom are Pagans, their religion affords them a pretext for the acquisition of slaves in war. The King's Vicerent, in a conversation with the travellers, openly avowed that the sole object of the wars of Teembo was to procure slaves, as they could not obtain European goods without slaves, nor slaves without making war. He farther stated, that the European factories would not trade with guns, powder and cloth, for any articles except slaves. *The King declared, that he would renounce the slave trade, if a trade in native produce could be established.* One of the chiefs who defended the religious wars, admitted, that if the Foulahs could procure European goods without making war, he would believe that God would be offended; but as this was impossible, God could not be angry, especially when *the Book* desired them to make war on nations that would not serve him. The travellers, recommended the use of the plough, which had never been heard of in the Foulah country; *and the King offered to furnish any European with land, cattle, and men, who should settle among them.*"

Such and so interesting is the country, over which, probably at this moment, reigns ALIMAMY ABDUHL-KADRE, the brother of PRINCE. How important then, that this powerful (and as he is

represented) peaceful Chieftain, should be immediately informed by special messengers from Liberia, of the benevolent purposes for which that Colony has been founded; that his brother is living, and that by the charity of this Christian Nation he is about to be restored with a numerous family to the land from which, forty years ago, he was taken by violence to be carried into distant, and as it seemed, hopeless captivity. How must an account like this, if rendered credible, excite the admiration of a heathen King, and awaken even in selfish bosoms the kindly sentiments of gratitude and affection. And let us gain the friendship of ABDÜHL-KADRE; we have easy access not only to TEEMBO, but may readily penetrate to Tombuctoo and the other great cities of Central Africa.

Mr. Park, in his first journey, penetrated to within 200 miles of Tombuctoo, and was informed by the Moors that the king of that place was named ABU ABRAHIMA, (the Grandfather of Prince) that his court was splendid and magnificent, that he possessed immense riches, and that the expenses of government were defrayed by a tax on merchandise. This city is represented by Mr. Park, as the principal emporium of the Moorish commerce in Africa. Tombuctoo, as described by Adams, the only white man, we believe, who professes to make report concerning it from his own observation, stands nearly upon the same extent of ground with Lisbon; but as the houses are built in a scattered manner, the population is probably not so great. The Arab, Sidi Hamet, who assures Captain Riley that he had visited Tombuctoo, describes it as in appearance six times more populous than Mogadore. As the latter place contains 36,000, this would give to Tombuctoo 216,000.

In 1804, Mr. Grey Jackson, who had resided many years at Mogadore, made a communication to Sir Joseph Banks, relative to Tombuctoo, derived from the information of persons who had visited or resided in that city. He speaks of it as twelve miles in circumference, that it is subject to Bambarra, but that the internal police of the city is in the hands of the Moors. All religions are tolerated, except the Jewish. The profits on the trade to Tombuctoo, is said to be so great, that 5,000 dollars invested in European produce at Mogadore or Fez, would, in a year or two, produce a return of 20,000.

How much reliance may be placed upon these statements, we

pretend not to decide; but they appear to be generally confirmed by the testimony of Prince; and we hope that to our countrymen will belong the honour of having fully ascertained the size, condition and importance of this famous but wellnigh mysterious city. What glorious results to the cause of humanity, of science, of religion, might be expected were there an open path from Liberia to Tombuctoo! Mr. Park believed, "that a short introduction to Christianity, elegantly printed in Arabic, and distributed among the negroes, who read that language, would have a wonderful effect in disseminating the mild doctrines of Christianity, and from its superior elegance and cheapness, might soon be classed among the school-books of Africa."

We perfectly agree with the Editor of the *Journal of Commerce*, on this subject, who remarks:

"Heretofore no power has been able to gain the confidence of the African Tribes in the interior—it now requires but a little management on our part, and the work is done. Some may consider our notions on this point as wild and chimerical, but we are soberly convinced, that if Great Britain had possession of Abduhl Rahahman, and he stood in the same relation to her that he does to us, she would prize her good fortune beyond almost any sum. Philanthropy, curiosity and self-interest, would all seize upon the opportunity and push it to the extremity. It is more than probable, that within two years, we should hear of a thriving commerce with the whole of that vast interior; we should have an accurate description of the habits, origin, and resources of the people; an accurate geography of the country, containing the whole unexplored course of the Niger; and what is of more weight still with the Christian and Philanthropist, a way would be opened for the entrance of Charity and the Christian Religion. We really hope that an expedition will be fitted out, if not by government, at least by the enterprise of individuals to accompany the Prince to his native country. It is impossible not to expect of such an expedition results favourable to the interests and honourable to the character of the American people."

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The Rev. Mr. Gallaudet is preparing for the press a detailed statement of the history of the Moorish Prince, which will be published in pamphlet form. A striking and finished likeness of the Prince has been executed by Mr. Inman. It is now in the hands of the engraver, and, as we understand, will form one of the illustrations of the *Talisman*, to be published by E. Bliss before the holidays.—[*N. Y. Com. Adv.*]

## Emancipation and Colonization.

We have, from the origin of our Institution, entertained and expressed the opinion, that of all methods which could be devised to promote voluntary emancipation, none would be so efficient as the establishment of a Colony for the free people of colour, on the African coast. We have known that thousands were connected with the system of slavery, from necessity, and not from choice; and that their own liberal sentiments would prompt them to avail themselves of the earliest opportunity which should offer, of conferring freedom on their slaves, when this would evidently be beneficial to the slaves, and without injury to the public welfare. That our opinions on this subject have been well founded, will be clearly proved, by the following extracts from letters now before us. In our August number we mentioned that forty-three slaves had been offered to the Society by a single individual in Georgia.

### *From a Clergyman in Virginia.*

After speaking of the ages and character of seventeen servants whom he proposes to liberate, that they may be transferred to Liberia, he observes

"They are as desirable a parcel of slaves, for their integrity and industry, as any man owns. But I cannot do my duty to them in their present situation. I have been trying to teach them to read, but the circumstances of their condition render this an almost hopeless task. The younger part are as fine looking little fellows as you have seen, and in a land of freedom they would avoid many habits incidental to a state of slavery, and in due time under God's blessing, become useful to the Colony. In giving up my negroes I shall become poor. I can at present do nothing more for them than give them their liberty. Will you take them on these terms, delivered to you in Norfolk or Richmond?"

### *From a Gentleman in Virginia.*

"I am now writing from the residence of an old friend in this county.— I introduced to his consideration the present condition of the Colonization Society. He is so struck with it, that he has made up his mind to liberate a coloured woman and six children; and to purchase and liberate her husband, and provide them with the means of paying their passage to Liberia. Both the man and woman, are to my knowledge, persons of good moral and industrious habits. They are very suitable persons for the Colony."

### *From another in the same State.*

"A gentleman who has recently gone from this county, with an intention of residing for a time in Kentucky or Ohio, has left under the care and direction of the Colonization Society here, a family of negroes, consisting of a man, his wife, and their 3 children; with the wish that they should be sent to Liberia by the first vessel sailing for that Colony. He has provided funds for paying the expenses of their outfit, and to the place of embarkation; and it only remains to be ascertained when and from what point, it will be convenient for the parent Society to send them, that the necessary arrangements may be made for their departure, by their friends here."

### *From a Lady in ———,*

"I had some time since the pleasure of conversing with you upon a subject of deep interest to myself, and which has not since, for one moment,

been absent from my mind. I then understood, that in case I could so arrange my affairs as to be able to offer my slaves to the Colonization Society, you thought they would undertake to send them to Liberia. I have deferred making any direct application to the Society, until I had obtained a full and legal title to them, which I might be able to transfer. I have laboured incessantly to effect this end, and am now in full possession, as a lawful purchaser, of 24 negroes, now 25, so that I have a full and undisputed power to dispose of them, and am prepared to do so, in the way which may appear most advisable for their benefit. They are young and promising: a number of young boys, some young girls, and a few old persons; but out of the number, are several who are decidedly opposed to going to Liberia, and prefer slavery here, to freedom in Africa. These I should not think of using force with.

"Two or three very old persons, superannuated, or nearly so, refuse positively to quit the home to which they have been so long attached. But my wish is to transfer, as far as I can in justice, all my title to the whole number contained in the list. It has been at a heavy expense, and with a total disregard of my worldly interests, that I obtained the right to dispose of these negroes. My situation is such as precludes the possibility of my doing more than give them their freedom. I therefore hope that the Society may be in a situation to take them as a gift from me, and assume the entire charge of providing for their passage and settlement in the Colony. Will you be so kind as to communicate to the Board in the form you think best, a direct proposal to commit to their care for the purpose of colonizing them, a family of 20 or more negroes, good subjects for colonization: and will you favour me with as early an answer to my proposal as you can conveniently obtain. The negroes are awarded to me at a valuation of \$4,100."

*From a Gentleman in Kentucky.*

"I will, willingly, give up 12 or fifteen of my coloured people at this time, and so on, gradually, till the whole are given up, (about 60) if means for their passage to Liberia can be afforded. I accord with your ideas, in your letter, as to the policy and morality of the design of the Society, and wish it success."

The question then, now submitted to this enlightened and liberal nation, is, shall the funds be raised to effect the great objects of our Society, and to fulfil the wishes of these truly noble-minded individuals?



## **The great Object advanced.**

A Clergyman in Mississippi writes, "I have much pleasure in announcing one of the HUNDRED, who, for ten years, will give to your Society annually \$100. For reasons not necessary to be mentioned, he wishes his name to be concealed. He will commence his payment of \$100 next spring, whether ninety-nine others will make the like contributions or not; and this sum he will hold himself bound to pay annually for ten years, should he live so long. There is one man more, who will, I think, become a subscriber on this liberal scale. I have moved him on the subject, and he has it under consideration. I have little fear of the result of his deliberation."

## Expedition to Africa.

The following Resolution was adopted by the Board of Managers on the 31st instant

*“Resolved,* That it is expedient forthwith to dispatch an expedition, with emigrants and supplies to Liberia, provided \$2000 can be raised for this object.”

Wm. M. Atkinson, Esq. of the Petersburg Society, David I. Burr, Esq. of the Richmond Society; John M’Phail, Esq. of the Norfolk Society; and J. B. Harrison, Esq. of the Lynchburg Society; have kindly consented to act as a Committee to promote this object, and donations either in money or provisions, may be entrusted to their care, or to that of Charles Tappan, Esq. Boston; Grove Wright, Esq. New York; Gerard Ralston, Esq. Philadelphia; Messrs. Harper and Latrobe, Baltimore.

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We state with pleasure, that the Rev. ISAAC ORR, late of the Hartford Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb, has been appointed “General Agent and Assistant Secretary” of our Society. We trust this arrangement may give greater extent and energy to our operations.

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## Contributions

*To the A. C. Society, from 20th Aug. to 31st October, 1828.*

Collection in Methodist Episcopal Church at Marietta, Ohio, per Rev. James Whitney, .....	\$11 23
“ Presbyterian Church, Romney, Virginia, per Rev. Mr. Foote, .....	25
“ two congregations at New Albany, Indiana, per H. Schribner, Esq. ....	25
“ Methodist Church, Petersburg, Va. per William M. Atkinson, Esq. ....	17 50
“ at Natural Bridge, Va. per M. Houston, .....	6 67
“ at Gettysburg, Pa. per Rev. D. M’Conaughley, .....	10
Received from John M’Phail, Esq. at Norfolk, viz.	
“ in Methodist Church, Portsmouth, per Rev. Mr. Blake, .....	\$17 64
“ Methodist Ch. Norfolk, per Rev. Mr. Holley, 20	
“ Presbyterian ditto do. per Rev. Mr. Kollock, 23	
“ ditto. Portsmouth, per Rev. Mr. Nimmo, 5 00—	65 64
Mangohiek Aux. Society, Virginia, per Robert B. Semple. Esq. ..	32
Rev. J. D. Paxton, Rockbridge county, Virginia, .....	5
A friend in Petersburg, Virginia, .....	2
Dr. Magaw, of Meadville, Pa. per John P. Davis, Esq. ....	5
An Orphan in New Haven, .....	1
A Lady in Hanover county, Va. per Rev. Mr. Meade, .....	50
A friend in Hagerstown, Maryland, .....	5
J. T. Norton, Esq. Albany, N. Y. his first payment on the plan of Gerrit Smith, Esq. ....	100
Theo. Frelinghuysen, Esq. Newark, N. J. his first payment on the same plan, .....	100
Hezekiah Beecher, Esq. Livonia, New York, .....	5
Two ladies at Fredericksburg, Va. per W. F. Gray, Esq. ....	10

*Carried forward, \$476 04*

<i>Amount brought forward,</i>		\$476 04
The <i>mites</i> of a few individuals in Cabarras county, North Carolina, per John Robinson, Esq. ....	5	
Greencastle Aux. Society, per J. B. M'Lanahan, Esq. Secretary, ..	41	
Maryland ditto. ....	30	80
7th annual payment from Sunday School Teachers Frederick'n Md.	10	
Collections by D. T. Baird, Pittsburg, .....	5	
Collection in Northumberland, Pa. by J. B. Boyd, .....	10	
" Lutheran Church, Williamsport, Md. by A. M. C. Hamer, per James C. Dunn, .....	12	
" at monthly concert of prayer, Oxford, Granville co. N. C. ....	3	
" in 1st Presbyterian Church, Pittsburg, Pa. ....	40	
" Presbyter'n Ch. Morristown, N. J. by P. A. Johnson, ..	42	25
" by Rev. Wm. Monroe, .....	20	
" in Presbyterian Church, Princess Ann, Somerset county, Md. by Rev. John Moore, .....	10	
" in Market street Church, New York, by Rev. William M'Murray, per Peter Neefur, Esq. Treasurer, ....	31	58
" at Cannonsburg, Pa. of the citizens, and students of Jef- ferson College, after an address by Rev. Dr. Brown, ..	10	
" in Congregation of church at Hudson, Portage co. O. ....	20	
" at Leesburg, Virginia, .....	11	27
" at Middleburg, do. ....	5	39
" at Aldie, do. ....	3	86
By Rev. James Nourse, as follows:		
From Mr. Ripley, forwarded by Joseph Jackson, collections at Rockaway and Dover, New Jersey, July 4, 1827, ....	\$15	00
Received from Rev. Dr. Ludlow, Albany, collected from the citizens of Albany at the celebration of Independence, in the new Dutch Church, July 4, 1828, .....	70	28
Received from Ashley Samson, Esq. Rochester, N. York, a collection from the citizens of Rochester, July 4, 1828, ..	41	27
Received from Seth Seelye, Esq. collection in Presbyt'n Church, Lansingburg, N. Y. 4th July, 1827, .....	8	50
Ditto from ditto, collected 4th July 1828, .....	16	31
Received from J. House, East Waterford, N. Y. collection in Presbyterian Church, 4th July 1828, .....	12	
Received of Mr. Ripley, collection in Rockaway, N. J. Sabbath after 4th July 1828, .....	9	
Ditto collected in Presbyterian Church, Jamaica, L. I. per Rev. E. W. Crane, ...	29	
Collection by Rev. Mr. Clarke, of Canaan, N. Y. ....	9	
From David Williams, Westford, N. Y. ....	3	
Collection 4th July, Catskill, N. Y. per Rev. J. W. Wycoff, ..	9	
" Congregation of New Windsor, \$4 50 and con- gregation of Canterbury, Orange county, N. Y. per Rev. James H. Thomas, \$5 10, .....	9	60
Collection, Bloomfield, N. J. Sabbath next succeeding 4th July, 1828, per Rev. G. N. Judd, .....	15	
Received of Mr. Job Squier, Rahway, N. J. his annual contribution, .....	10	253 96
Collection in Christ Ch. Georgetown, D. C. per J. Marbury, Esq. .	25	31
Auxiliary Society, Nelson county, Virginia, .....	20	
Collection in the South Congregational Church, Hartford, Connecti- cut, per Rev. Joel H. Linsley, .....	10	
P. A. Johnson, Esq. of Morristown, N. J. his annual subscription, ..	5	

*Carried forward, \$1103 46*

*Amount brought forward, \$1103 46*

Collection in Pencader and St. George congregation, Delaware,	
per Rev. Mr. Post, .....	11
" in Rev. George W. Janvier's Church, Pittsgrove, N. J. ....	5
" in Reformed Lutheran Church, Newtown, Pa. ....	1 50
" in St. Joseph's Church, Frederick county, .....	3 50
" at Greensborough, North Carolina, ...	8
From C. Tappan, Esq. Boston, as follows, viz:	
From Rev. Joseph Goff, of Millbury, Massachusetts, ....	\$2
Collected in Marblehead, 4th July, 1827, do. ....	11
Collected in Congregational Soc. Dalton, do. ....	7 34
Of William Rockwood, of Holliston, for Repository, Ms. ..	4
Of John Fairbanks, Holliston, for Repository, .....	2
From an unknown friend in Roxbury, N. H. ....	1
Of George Lord, for Repository, .....	4 50
Collection at New Bedford, 4th July, 1827, Massachusetts, ..	4
From a lady in Adington, do. ....	1
From North Brookfield, Massachusetts, do. ....	11 37
From the Baptist Church in Randolph, do. ...	10
Collected in Park Street Church, Boston, 4th of July, Ms. .	81 50
A donation from Azazel, Ames Marshfield, Massachusetts, .	10
Collected in S. Parish, Reading and Stoneham, do. July 4, ..	17
Collected in the first Con. Society, Hallowell, Me. July 4, .	13
Collected in the Calvinistic Society, Ashby, Ms. July 4, ..	7 85
Collected in Portland, Maine, July 4, .....	54
Collected in the South Parish of Weymouth, Ms. July 4, ..	28 37
Collected in Rev. Mr. Holmes' So. N. Bedford, Ms. July 4, ..	12 75
Collected in Rev. Mr. Woodbury's Society, Falmouth, Ms. 10	56
Collected in Thomaston, Maine, 4th of July, .....	12
Contributed by the children of the Central District School,	
Hopkinton, Massachusetts, .....	2
Collected in the West Parish of Brookfield, Ms. 4th of July, ..	22 50
Collected in Rev. Mr. Huntington's Society, North Bridge-	
water, Massachusetts, 4th of July, .....	32 57
Collected in Castine, Maine, .....	26 55
From Mrs. Almera Ellis of Medway, Massachusetts, ....	5
Contributed in Southampton, Massachusetts, July 4, .....	10 37
" by inhabitants of Boothbay, Ms. July 4, .....	4 30
" by inhabitants of Swanzy, N. H. July 4, .....	2 60
" by Con. Society, Bluehill, Maine, .....	11 15
" in Chapel of the Theo. Sem. Ando. Ms. July 4, ..	15
" in Andover, Maine, 4th of July, .....	5
Received of the Rev. Jonathan Ward, of Plymouth, N. H.	
contributed by his Soc. to constitute him a life member, ..	30
Contributed in Dalton, Massachusetts, 4th of July, .....	18
Given by Miss Hannah Goodell, of Millbury, Ms. ....	20
From an unknown person, .....	51
Deduct postage, &c. \$1 60, nett amount, .....	559 68
Collection at the Chapel, Frederick, Va. by Rev. W. Meade, ....	52 52
Wm. Brown, Esq. of Charlestown, Va. the donation of a lady, ...	10
Geo. Cotton, Esq. Treasurer Hamp. co. Mass. for collections 4th	
July, and the annual subscription of members of the society, ...	112
Walter Bayne, Esq. Accomac county, Virginia, .....	5
Joseph Cowan, Augusta county, Virginia, .....	30
Miss Landonia Randolph Fauquier co. Virginia, .....	10
Rev. I. J. Roberts, Edgefield, S. C. to make him a life member, .	30

*Carried forward, \$1941 66*



*Amount brought forward, \$1941 66*

Collections in Mississippi, per Rev. William Winans, viz:

At Laurel Hill, M. H. by Rev. R. L. Walker, July 4, ....	\$13 50
At Washington, by Mr. A. Covington, in Class-meeting, ..	4
Repository, .....	\$9 60
Rev. Thomas Clinton, ..	5
Edward M'Gehee, Esq. .	5
Col. John S. Lewis, ....	5
Jeremiah D. Brown, ....	5
Robert Smith, .....	5
Cornelius Van Houton, ..	2
David Williams, .....	2
Ann L. Clinton, .....	1
Col. David Davis, .....	1
Robert Germany, .....	1
George Damon, .....	1
Rev. Bevil Taber, .....	1
James Reames, .....	1
Malachi Bradford, .....	1
Isaac Taylor, .....	1
James Bowman, .....	1
Job Foster, .....	50
Joseph Dunbar, .....	1
Thomas Freeland, Esq. .	2
John Nugent, .....	1
Ann Nugent, .....	1
Buckner Darden, .....	1
John Snodgrass, .....	5
Rev. John C. Burruss, ..	1
Caroline M. Thayer, ...	1
Gen. Samuel L. Winston, 1	
Leonard Bradford, .....	1
Jesse Trahern, .....	50
Captain Samuel King, ..	1 25

*Amount brought up, \$64 85*

William Diamond, .....	5
Rev. Benjamin M. Drake, 1	
Rev. John O. T. Hawkins, 1	
John Fulks, .....	5
John M. Gamble, .....	5
Moore F. Hooe, .....	1
William Foster, .....	6
William Tigner, .....	50
Frances H. Calvit, .....	3
Eliza Little, .....	75
Simeon Gibson, .....	2
Jarret Hendricks, .....	50
James Hendricks, .....	12
Beverly R. Grayson, ...	3
John M. Whitney, ....	1
Col. John G. Richardson, 1	
Augustine Freeland, ...	5
Thomas Miller, ....	50
Col. James Smith, .....	2 50
Levin Covington, .....	3 50
George W. Kellogg, ....	1
Alvarez Fisk, .....	10
William M. Lindsey, ...	1
Dr. John W. Monett, ...	1
Rev. William Winans, ..	2 28
Martha Winans, .....	1

*\$145 00*

*Draft, \$ 1 45 143 53*

Collections by the Hon. Theo. Frelinghuysen, N. J. viz:

C. H. Shipman, Newark, .	\$50	Isaac Baldwin, Newark, ..	\$25
John Taylor, do. ....	25	Luther Goble, do. ....	10 110
Collection in Hartford, Trumbull co. O. per Rev. W. Anderson, .	5		
“ by Rev. Mr. Bennet, .....	2		
“ by Samuel Stocking, Esq. Agent at Utica, New York, ..	211 38		
“ by Rev. A. Proudfit and Rev. J. H. Seymour, Salem, N. Y. .	25		
“ in Downes Chapel, Accomac county, Virginia, .....	6 87		
“ in Methodist Epis. Church, Balt. per Rev. W. Hamilton, ..	20 15		
Subscription to Repository, ....	2		
A friend in Connecticut, .....	5		
Miami University Society, Ohio, ..	3		
R. I. Alexander, Esq. of Alex. .	10		
Auxiliary Society, Connecticut, per Seth Terry, Esq. Treasurer, .	63		
“ “ Greensborough, North Carolina, .....	31		
“ “ Cuyahoga county, Cleaveland, Ohio, .....	20		
“ “ Vermont, per J. Loomis, Esq. Treasurer, ....	120		
“ “ Albemarle, Virginia, per J. B. Carr, Esq. Tr. .	10		
“ “ Rockbridge, Va. per J. F. Campbell, Esq. Tr. .	47		
“ “ Kent co. Maryland, per P. Worth, Esq. Tr. .	50		

*Ladies' Missionary Society Frederick county, Virginia, .....* 113 87

*\$2,940 46*

THE  
**AFRICAN REPOSITORY,**  
AND  
**COLONIAL JOURNAL.**

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**VOL. IV. NOVEMBER, 1828. No. 9.**

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**Communication.**

*Report of the Committee of Foreign Relations, in the Senate of the United States, to whom were referred sundry petitions and memorials, and the resolutions of several Legislatures of different States, in relation to the Colonization of Persons of Colour.*

[Concluded from p. 172.]

IN pursuance of an intimation given in a former number, we proceed to inquire how far it may be expedient for the Government of the United States, to comply with the earnest solicitations of the Colonization Society and its friends, and with the recommendations of the numerous and highly respectable States that have volunteered an expression of their opinions on this interesting subject.

The object proposed to be accomplished, is (in the language of the memorial of the Colonization Society,) "the removal to the Coast of Africa, with their own consent, of such people of colour, within the United States, as are already free, and of such others, as the humanity of individuals, and the laws of the different States may hereafter liberate."

It is not our intention, at this time, to enter into the various views, religious, philanthropic, and patriotic, in which origina-

ted the scheme for colonizing Africa with the coloured population of America. Such an exposition would very properly enter into an appeal to popular sentiment. But our only object now, is to meet the committee of the Senate, on the ground they have themselves chosen, and to show that the object in contemplation, is not only national in its character, but fully within the compass of the means at the disposal of the Government of the United States.

We were aware that some difference of opinion had at all times, existed as to the actual value of the slave population of the United States, and that although a very large proportion of our fellow-citizens concurred in reprobating its existence, there were to be found here and there, highly respectable individuals, and indeed in some cases, communities of individuals, who considered its benefits, as more than counterbalancing its acknowledged evils. But until the extraordinary protest of Mr. Tazewell, against any effort on the part of the United States, "to intrude itself within the limits of the States, for the purpose of withdrawing from them, *an important portion of their population;*" we had not supposed that a single dissentient could be found, from the general sentiment entertained in relation to that portion of our coloured population, which had been admitted to a state of partial freedom.

The feelings of the slave-holding States, in relation to this "important portion of their population," may be inferred from the legislative restraints, almost all of them have sought to impose on its increase, within their respective limits. And even the non-slave-holding States, where there must, in the nature of things, be a greater degree of toleration, for the free people of colour, than in the South, are beginning to exhibit evident symptoms of uneasiness at their rapid increase.

These feelings, pervading, as they do, every portion of our country; extending from the North to the South, and from the East to the West, have originated in no unnatural and unreasonable prejudices, but rest for their support, on the most obvious principles of political wisdom and foresight. It is impossible, in the nature of things, that a population, just emerged from slavery, distinguished by the peculiarity of its colour, and cut off by unavoidable necessity, from the most powerful incentives to indi-

vidual exertion, and to moral elevation, should constitute a valuable portion of any community, on which it may be cast. It adds neither to its wealth, its character, nor its strength.

"Whoever," says a late essayist, "is at all conversant with the character of the free coloured population of our country, must be satisfied, that it is a source of evil, rather than of good to us. The very limited addition which it makes to the labour of the country, is more than counterbalanced by its extraordinary deductions from the gross amount of that labour, by the indolence and the immorality inseparable from its condition, by the distinctions which it creates in our society, as well as in our laws, and above all, by the paralyzing influence it must necessarily exercise over the physical energies of the nation. In the slave-holding portions of our country, this balance of evil is infinitely increased, by the effect of an intermediate class of population, such as that we are considering, in the relations subsisting between the master and the slave. Made up, for the most part, either of emancipated slaves, or of their immediate descendants, elevated above the class from which it has sprung, only by its exemption from domestic restraint, and effectually barred by the law, from every prospect of equality with the actual freemen of the country, it is a source of perpetual uneasiness to the master, and of envy and corruption to the slave. Its effect is to diminish the comforts of the one, while it increases the burthens of the other, and to leave to the society, in which it exists, no other security, than can be derived from an arbitrary system of laws, not less revolting to humanity, than inconsistent with the general character of our institutions."

Such, we believe, to be a fair and faithful exhibition of the real character and influence of the population, whose removal is the object of the Colonization Society; and entertaining this opinion, we cannot help considering the object itself, as one of infinite importance to the nation, and calling loudly for the application of the necessary means, that have been wisely committed to the government of the union, "for securing the domestic tranquillity, providing for the common defence, and promoting the general welfare." Will not this Government indeed be guilty of a gross and unpardonable neglect, of the high and important duties devolved upon it, if it shall continue to regard with cold

indifference, an evil, so extensive, so various, and so powerful in its operation; an evil pervading in a greater or less degree, every section of our country—and affecting by its baleful influence, not only our morals and our politics, but our individual wealth, and with it, our national strength?

Even had the fearful exhibition of expenditure, conjured up by the fervid fancy of Mr. Tazewell, been justified by the actual data in his possession, we are very much inclined to doubt, whether the expenditure would not have been more than counterbalanced by its resulting benefits. Indeed we hardly know how to estimate in dollars and cents, the value of a measure, that by withdrawing from us, our free coloured population, should open the way for the ultimate extinction of slavery, throughout the whole extent of our territory. Could such an event be instantaneously brought about—could the whole coloured population of our country be suddenly converted, by the magic touch of some enchanter's wand, into a free and industrious white population, what price should we not be willing pay, what terms should we not readily grant for so signal a blessing?

But these are not the days of miracles; and we are not disposed to attempt, with human means, what omnipotence alone could accomplish. Mr. Tazewell need not be alarmed therefore, at the idea of being called on to vote, either one hundred and ninety millions of dollars for the immediate extinction of slavery, nor twenty-eight millions for the immediate removal of our whole free coloured population; and we can assure him, on the most unquestionable authority, that even if the Colonization Society were to ask of Congress, means for the transportation of the annual increase of the whole coloured population of the country, both free and slave, their demand, instead of swelling to six or seven millions, would be satisfied by an appropriation falling short even of a single million.\*

But in truth, the chief object of the Colonization Society in applying to Congress, is to procure, in the first instance, the national countenance to their undertaking, and in the next place,

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\* See the Note after this Article.

to obtain from the Government, such moderate pecuniary aid, as will enable them to make their settlement on the coast of Africa a safe and desirable asylum for the coloured population of America, whenever this shall have been so far accomplished as to satisfy that portion of them already free, that they may, by their removal to it, improve their condition, moral, political and pecuniary; individual enterprise, aided by a very moderate share of individual philanthropy, will readily overcome all the anticipated difficulties of transportation. The fact is, that at this very moment, a large proportion of the free coloured population of America, could furnish abundant means for their own transportation, if the situation of the Colony held out sufficient inducements for their removal to it. And we venture to predict, that if ever the time shall arrive, when the most industrious and thrifty amongst them shall have been tempted to emigrate, there is not a village, a town, a county, nor a state in the Union, that will not be prepared, from motives of interest alone, to furnish the necessary means of migration to the remainder.

That a settlement in Africa, thus constituted, and thus protected, would also draw from us, if not the whole of our slave population, such portions of it, at least, as would relieve us from the greatest and most appalling of the apprehensions connected with its existence among us, cannot admit of a doubt. Even under all the discouragements which the laws of the South are compelled to throw in the way of emancipation, individual humanity is nevertheless continually at work; and under its influence, hundreds and thousands of slaves are annually liberated, with very little hope that their situation will be improved, and with the strongest reasons to apprehend that they may become a more serious evil to the community on which they are thrown, than in their primitive condition. Their removal to Africa under the auspices and protection of the Government of the United States, would obviate every difficulty. Philanthropy and patriotism might then go hand in hand. Individual felling would do much, and state legislation yet more, towards relieving the country of its greatest curse and its greatest opprobrium.

It is not for us to point out the extent to which the Government (should it see proper to embark in this business) must go, to render its co-operation most efficacious. If ever it does move, its

first movements must, of course, be experimental; leaving it to time and observation to mature its ultimate plans. We venture, however, to predict, that under no possible circumstances, can the numerous expenditures anticipated by Mr. Tazewell, ever be required; and we repeat our conviction, that one million of dollars, judiciously expended, would be more than sufficient to defray every necessary expense, connected with the removal of the annual increase of the whole coloured population of the country.

But even this amount would very far exceed either the expectations or the wishes of the Society. The protection of the government, and an annual appropriation of one hundred thousand dollars for some years to come, would, most probably, accomplish every thing that ought to be attempted, would meet the demands for immediate emigration; give stability and prosperity to the settlement at Liberia; and ultimately open an efficient drain, for a population as injurious to the national interests, as it is dangerous to the national peace. Who, that is conversant with the resources, can doubt the ability of the Government to make such an appropriation? And what appropriation, that could be made, would contribute more "to secure the domestic tranquillity, and promote the general welfare" of the Union?

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### Note.

The average price paid by the Colonization Society, for the conveyance of emigrants to Africa, and for supporting them during the voyage, has been about thirty dollars for each individual. The lowest price was twenty-eight dollars. There cannot be a doubt, however, that as emigration increases, and trade to the Colony is proportionally augmented, or rather as it is augmented in proportion to the size and resources of the Colony, the price of conveying emigrants will be much diminished, so that twenty dollars or twenty-five dollars will be the highest at which it can be estimated. Besides, the general rule is obviously applicable in this case, that business done on a small scale, is the

most expensive. It has been the usual custom of the Society, to receive the emigrants at the place of embarkation.

From these premises, the glaring unfairness of Mr. Tazewell's statements, cannot but appear obvious to every unprejudiced and discerning eye. Indeed it seems remarkable that he should venture to present such a report before so enlightened a body as the American Congress. And it seems no less unfortunate, that a subject so momentous, should be entrusted to hands apparently so ready to stifle it, without giving a fair exhibition of its claims and its character. Judging solely from the *guesses* of others, and from past expenses, he made a rough estimate of the cost of planting each emigrant in Africa, at \$100. Proceeding from this goal so ingeniously, but so loosely set up, he estimates the expense of transporting all the free coloured population of the country, at \$28,000,000, and of the annual increase, at \$700,000: of the whole of the slave population, at \$195,000,000, and of their annual increase, at \$7,500,000. What would we think of the farmer who should count the cost of clearing and planting a piece of wild land, and should calculate that the annual expense of doing it in succeeding years would be the same. And more especially, what would be thought of him, if he should even attempt to make converts to such an opinion. And yet it is exactly on this principle that Mr. Tazewell has proceeded. However great the expenses of the emigrants may have been in the infancy of the Colony, it is *certain*, that when the facilities of support to the coloured people are as great in Africa, as in this country, (and we confidently expect them soon to be much greater,) nothing will then remain but the cost of removal. For this, \$20 a head would doubtless be an estimate sufficiently high. Even admitting, then, the rest of Mr. Tazewell's premises, the cost of transporting the whole of the free coloured population would be, \$5,600,000, and of the annual increase, \$140,000: the whole of the slaves, \$38,000,000, and their annual increase, \$1,140,000. From this it will be seen, that the undoubted loss sustained by the people of the United States in a single year by the use of ardent spirits, would more than remove the whole African race from our country to their native shores. How fortunate, if intemperate men, before proceeding to ruin, would appropriate one year's waste to this cause of philanthropy.



But further, Mr. Tazewell is alarmed at the idea, that if Government interpose, it must pay something like an equivalent for the slaves, in order to obtain their manumission. Was he indeed unacquainted with the fact, that the disposition, from whatever motive, to liberate them, is already so great, that almost every where, the strong arm of the law is found necessary to arrest the progress of manumission? and that it is the avowed determination of a great portion of masters, to liberate their slaves, as soon as it can be done to the benefit of the slaves, without danger to themselves? And does he know the rapid progress of this change of sentiment? He ought at least to have contrived some method, by which the chain might have been separated that binds the master to his servants, and might leave them free to liberate them, according to their desire, before he proposed to pay them for doing it. The colonization scheme in fact, opens the only way in which even the white man is at liberty to do what he will with his own. Even a child can understand, that though no human arm can, at a single lift, cast Mount *Ætna* into the sea, its removal thither is, notwithstanding, entirely practicable. Only let the work *go on*, and it will, in due time, be accomplished. Only remove entirely the barriers to the progress of moral sentiment, and that alone would perform most of the wonders that make such a figure in Mr. Tazewell's arithmetic. And further, let such an experiment be fairly made, as will show clearly on which side lie individual and national interest, and the work is done. The nation and the man will hardly be found so selfish as not to gratify their selfishness, even if in doing it, they should also obey the dictates of humanity.

The subject, however plausibly numbers may be set down and exhibited, is obviously not within the comprehension of pure numerical arithmetic. It enters mostly into a moral arithmetic, of which many of the digits are yet to be found. For instance, only suppose for a moment, that the African Colony held forth strong inducements to emigration, as it doubtless will, if well managed and properly supported; and that the coloured people might be liberated with safety a while before their departure thither; how long would it be, before each person, that was fit to emigrate would lay up \$20; and how soon would they forever abandon the shores of our country? It is a pity that Mr. Taze-

well, while he was wandering in the field of conjectures, had not touched upon these and similar grounds of more light and greater probability. Before such a state of things, his imposing estimates would vanish like the meadow mist before the sun of a summer morning. The better part of the sons of Africa, would proceed by their own resources and their own energies, to civilize and renovate their native home; and the remnant would very probably end their days and their lineage in the alms-houses and hospitals of our own country. All this may be called fancy; but when shadows are made warriors, truly better shadows may be set up to oppose them.

On the supposition, however, that the aid of Government will not be obtained immediately, even at the most important crisis of our great and very promising experiment, the subject of this note presents a fit opportunity to make an urgent and powerful appeal to the people of the North. Almost to a man, they are anxious that our common country should be delivered from what they deem a great and threatening evil. And moreover, it cannot be said, that they are backward to do what they see to be their duty in the cause of their country. If their feelings are in any case too violent on this interesting subject, it is because they are mistaken respecting it. It is because they do not see clearly the difficulties and impediments with which it is encumbered. But they understand arithmetic. They know too, that the owners of slaves have paid for them the market price, the very price for which they are now ready to sell them, or set them at liberty. Their profit has been wholly that of use, which can be considered only as equal to the interest of the money which they have actually expended. The clear profit, if there has been any, has mostly fallen to the lot of those who have perpetrated the atrocities, and partaken in the horrors of the slave-trade. Of these guilty persons, with shame be it spoken, many, perhaps the most, belong to the North. Those who give up their slaves without an equivalent, must make an actual sacrifice, nearly or quite equal to the full amount of their value. We may with safety set this value at \$200 a head. What then is the readiness of the South compared with the North to get rid of this evil? We may compute it in decimal arithmetic. If the South liberate their slaves, they virtually pay \$200 a head to-

wards their emigration to Africa. If the North bear the whole expense of removal, they pay, excepting extraordinary expenses, \$25 a head, or one-eighth of what is paid by the South.—But in fact, the South bear a very considerable part of the expense of removal. And yet there are more than 200 slaves whose masters wish to liberate them, and have already offered them to the Society; and they must still remain in slavery simply because the means cannot be provided of conveying them to Africa. By actual computation, then, the South are about eight times as ready as the North to get rid of this evil. Surely if emulation does not turn the scales, censure must be silent. Those who are now implicated, cannot be blamed for what has fallen to them by paternal inheritance. Their fathers expended their money for what was then deemed legitimate property. It is still so represented by the laws of our country. The evil is universally allowed to be national, and it requires for its removal, a nation's resources and a nation's energies.

And what are our free coloured population? They are slaves, or the children of slaves, manumitted by the hand of their masters. They can, in reality, be considered in no other light than that of slaves just set at liberty. The South, as it respects the emancipation of their own coloured people, have stolen a march on the North, and have left them in the rear in the progress of moral sentiment. The actions of the North, then, should demonstrate how much their declarations on this subject are based on sincerity. In this respect, the language of the South is more unequivocal and more decisive. This is not declamation; it is not hyperbole; but truth unvarnished: and to a candid ear, a simple statement of facts is the most acceptable and the most commanding eloquence.

ED: *pro tem.*

Since writing the above, we have, for the first time, noticed the following from the New-York Observer.

*“African Colonization.*—We mentioned in our last, that more than 400 free blacks had applied to the Managers of the American Colonization Society to be transported to the African Colony, and that the owners of more than 200 slaves had declared their readiness to liberate them as soon as means are provided for their removal.

*“We wish our benevolent readers to dwell for a moment upon these*

facts—particularly the latter. The good people of the North profess to regard slavery with utter abhorrence, and often reproach their Southern neighbours, in no measured terms, for continuing a practice so opposed to every principle of justice and humanity." But is not the reply just?—"We feel the force of what you say: but we cannot first relinquish our slaves, which are half the property we possess, and then transport them to another clime: neither can we, nor will we, turn them loose upon our fellow citizens, to become paupers, thieves and robbers. If you are as honest in favour of emancipation as you are importunate, hand over to the Colonization Society \$20, as often as we relinquish \$300 or \$400. We will free our slaves, if you will transport them to the land of their fathers.

"And what can the Northerner say? Nothing. And he ought to say nothing. If with all his boasted patriotism and compassion for suffering humanity, he cannot do little where he requires others to do so much, let him hide his head, and close his lips with conscious shame.

"But is it so? Will the friends of African emancipation in the Northern States suffer 200 of their fellow men to wear the chains of slavery yet longer and longer, for lack of the necessary funds to transport them to Liberia? We do not—we cannot believe it. Exempt from slavery ourselves, with all its attendant evils,—the very love of country, the common sympathies of our nature, much more the dictates of humble piety, would lead us to pity and relieve these children of misfortune and sorrow. But let it be remembered, kind wishes avail nothing in a matter like this; kind words avail nothing. The necessities of the case can only be relieved by prompt and liberal generosity. The season for safe emigration is rapidly passing away; and whatever is done, must be done quickly. Two months longer, and it will be too late."

There is such a resemblance between the note and the quotation, that it would seem as if one must have been a transcript of the other. They are both, however, the transcript of truth, and are therefore from the same original. We rejoice to see such sentiments from a source at the North so highly respectable. We cannot but hope that they will be found already written in the hearts of all who are the friends of freedom, of our country, and of humanity. And we trust, that wherever they are found, they will be like the breath of life, and will arouse each and every individual to ardent feeling, and to efficient activity. The people of the South are now saying, and what is more, they are saying practically to the people of the North, "We are moved by your remonstrances; we are convinced by your arguments; and moreover, we are willing to set you an example on your own lessons of freedom and humanity. we are ready to lead the

way, and even to leave you far in the rear, in the attainment of that object for which you have so earnestly plead, and which you have so loudly demanded. We hold our coloured population on principles which were approved and practised by you and your fathers. We paid for them the market price, at a time when no doubt was expressed that they were just and legal property. We have ever held them, and we still hold them as such by the laws of our country. We obtained them when Government was pledged to defend them as our own. This pledge stands on the firm basis of a contract. No retrospective law can reach and destroy it, without doing inexcusable violence to the free principles, and free institutions of our country. Such a law would at least operate like the hidden spring of a trap, set to catch citizens whom the Government is bound to protect. Violence of this kind, though it may assume the name of *legal*, we will repel with all our strength. The free spirit of our fathers, and of our common country, commands us to do so. Yet we are ready, we show you that we are ready to give up what you have no right to wrest from our possession.—Hundreds of thousands have already been so given up.—More still would have been given up; but policy, and even the voice of humanity forbid the progress of manumission; and the salutary hand of law came forward to co-operate with our convictions, and to arrest the flow of our feelings, and the ardour of our desires. But they are only arrested; not overpowered or extinguished. We offer you now more than two hundred Africans, and we entreat you to convey them to their native shores, whence they were torn by other hands than ours. We would call upon those guilty persons to undo what they have done; but, Alas! if the curse of Providence has not swept them and theirs from the world, their hearts would probably be callous far beyond the influence of our entreaties. Accept, we beseech you, the offering, and assist in a small degree to accomplish your own desires. We give it freely: we give ten dollars to your one. Many of us are embarrassed, and some made poor by the sacrifice. But we trust in that God whom we desire to obey, and we beseech him to touch your hearts, and impress your minds with our own feelings, and our own sentiments.” Friends of freedom and humanity, shall this language, so much

like, your own, be permitted to pass by unheard and unheeded? Shall this soft flame of hope, that beams so delightful, and so full of promise, be suffered to sink for the want of so small an encouragement. Ah! who can tell, if it should once expire, what hand, or what power can rekindle it?

Before closing, it ought to be observed, that if the principal ground on which Mr. Tazewell rests his estimates, can be made good, to us it will inevitably be fatal. About three quarters of his supposed expense, must be incurred in supporting the colonists after their arrival. If the facilities of support to the coloured people cannot be rendered as great at the Colony as in America, or even greater, all our efforts are idle and vain. If they can, the Colonists will in the main, support themselves immediately upon their arrival. If they cannot, then the argument not only properly precludes the patronage of Government, but it withers entirely the hopes of the Society. Never, in that case, can the coloured population be removed, but by the strong hand of violence, that dragged them from their native shores. But we ought to be thankful that Mr. Tazewell is neither the dispenser nor the prophet of futurity. In addition to the known fertility of Africa, here the coloured people have to contend with the strong and skilful hand of enlightened freemen; there with a sparse population of untaught and indolent savages.

We cannot do better than to close this article with an extract of a letter from Gerrit Smith, Esq. one of our warmest friends and ablest contributors. "Will another attempt be made, at the next session of Congress, to enlist the means of the nation in behalf of the objects of our Society? Those means are indispensable to the *speedy* accomplishment of our work; but let us not have them, unless they can be constitutionally afforded to us.—I cannot agree with the great majority of our friends, that our work cannot be done without these means. There is patriotism enough in the people of this republic to do it—and in the face of all obstacles, they will do it. Do I count too largely on that patriotism? We betake ourselves, then, to a better—an unfailing reliance. If the subject cannot kindle sufficient alarm in the bosom of the patriot, yet it has power to move the sympathies of the Christian; and on the benevolent workings of his holy religion, and the blessing of God, which ever accompanies

them, do we ground our last and safest confidence, that the next generation, if not, indeed, our own, will witness countless vessels employed in carrying back our poor Africans to their mother land, and in recompensing all the wrongs we have done her, with the blessings of civilization and the gospel."



## Letter from Matthew Carey, Esq.

OF PHILADELPHIA.

We are happy to announce by the following letter, the attainment of another distinguished *friend* to our cause; and the more so, because he has seen fit at the outset, to place himself in the first rank of our friends and advocates. Indeed we are perfectly confident, that just so far as we can make fully known the true state of things, and the designs and prospects of our Society, we shall attain, to a man, every friend, that in the promotion of a good cause is worth the attainment.

*Dear Sir:*

When the idea of the Colonization Society was first presented to the public, I was one of thousands and tens of thousands, who regarded it as one of the wildest projects ever patronized by a body of enlightened men. Thus viewing it, you will not be surprised to learn, that I was, as Sterne says, "predetermined not to bestow on it a single sous."—This view I entertained until lately, when a careful perusal of the tenth and eleventh reports of the Society, which you were so kind as to send me, convinced me that I had been egregiously in error; I had greatly overrated the expense of the transportation of the Colonists, and of their support for some time in Liberia, supposing it would be from one hundred, to one hundred and fifty dollars each. Under this impression I considered the scheme almost as Utopian, as it would be to attempt to drain Lake Erie with a ladle.

It appears by the report, that the conveyance of Colonists to Liberia, and their support there for one year, can be accomplished for twenty dollars, perhaps less. This wholly changes the face

of affairs, and places the attainment of the grand object in view, (that is, to withdraw from the United States annually, so many of the coloured population, and provide them a comfortable home and all the advantages of civilization in Africa, as will make the number here remain stationary,) within the grasp of the nation; provided sound views and a spirit of liberality commensurate with the magnitude of the object, can be spread abroad on the subject.

The mortality that has occurred, and the various difficulties and disadvantages that have been experienced in the settlement of Liberia have been considerable, but they have been greatly exaggerated; they however sink into insignificance, when compared with what took place in the early settlement of Virginia; famine, pestilence, internal dissensions, idleness, profligacy, and the tomahawk of the savages, swept off repeated settlements of the colonists, and cleared the country of them;\* and it was not until about thirty years from the date of the first attempt at a settlement, that a permanent establishment was effected. This ought to silence forever those who plead the difficulties that Liberia has experienced, as a proof of the impracticability of the undertaking.

I firmly believe, that numerous as are the objects which claim the beneficence of the wealthy, there is none that promises so copious a harvest of blessings to the United States—none which involves so many of those considerations that ought to influence citizens who look beyond their own selfish interests. There is one point of view in which it soars in magnitude and importance, beyond every other object of public utility, and which cannot be regarded without the deepest solicitude and terror. By a rational calculation in Mr. Darby's valuable work, just published, it appears, that according to the past ratio of the increase of the coloured population of the United States, they will in the year 1868, amount to above 10,000,000; in 1882, to 15,000,000, unless some efficient measures of prevention be adopted! Who can regard this enormous increase without affright? Who can consider any expense too great to avert the horrible consequences, with which it is pregnant? Could a portion of the national

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\*See Note at the end.



wealth—could individual or State munificence be in any other mode better employed? “Can any man who loves his country, regard the present prospect on this subject without terror? Can we view this state of things and let it pass on, without once calculating what will be its consequences to posterity.”—[Raymond.]

I shall conclude this long letter with stating, that in conformity with the views of Mr. Gerrit Smith,\* of New York, I send you one hundred dollars, and intend to remit to the Society, the same sum, for nine successive years, should I live so long. But I wish it distinctly understood, that although this is my present intention, I am not to be considered as irrevocably bound by it. I hold myself at liberty, should I judge proper, (which however is unlikely,) to change my purpose.

Yours with esteem,  
MATTHEW CAREY.

*Philadelphia, Nov. 8th, 1828.*

NOTE.

Smith left the Colony furnished with three ships, good fortifications, twenty-five pieces of cannon, arms, ammunition, apparel, commodities for trading, and tools for all kinds of labour. At James' Town, there were nearly sixty houses. The settlers had begun to plant and to fortify at five or six other places. The number of inhabitants was nearly five hundred.—They had just gathered in their Indian harvest, and besides, had considerable provision in their stores. They had between

\*REV. R. R. GURLEY.

PETERSBORO, N. Y. Dec. 26, 1827.

*Dear Sir:* Above is my draught for \$100, which, I trust, you will be able to realize without much delay or trouble. I am fully persuaded, that the only present channel for our labours in behalf of Africa and her unhappy children on our shores, is that which the Amer. Colonization Society opens up to our patriotic and christian liberality. Can there not be one hundred persons found, who will subscribe \$1000 each to the funds of your Society?—\$100 to be paid in hand, and the residue in nine equal payments. If there can be, you are then at liberty to consider me as one of the one hundred persons, and the enclosed draught as the first payment of my \$1000.

Your friend.

GERRIT SMITH.

five and six hundred hogs, an equal number of fowls, some goats and some sheep. They had also boats, nets and good accommodations for fishing. But such was the sedition, idleness and dissipation of this mad people, that they were soon reduced to the most miserable circumstances. No sooner was Capt. Smith gone, than the savages, provoked by their dissolute practices and encouraged by their want of government, revolted, hunted and slew them from place to place. Nansemond, the plantation at the falls, and all the out-settlements, were abandoned. In a short time, nearly forty of the company were cut off by the enemy. Their time and provisions were consumed in riot; their utensils were stolen or destroyed; their hogs, sheep and fowls killed and carried off by the Indians. The sword without, famine and sickness within, soon made among them surprising destruction. Within the term of six months, of their whole number, sixty only survived. These were the most poor, famishing wretches, subsisting chiefly on herbs, acorns and berries. Such was the famine, that they fed on the skins of their dead horses: nay, they boiled and ate the flesh of the dead. Indeed they were reduced to such extremity, that had they not been relieved, the whole Colony in eight or ten days would have been extinct. Such are the dire effects of idleness, faction and want of proper subordination.—[*Holmes' American Annals*, Vol. I, p. 60.

This hideous state of things took place in 1610; and the first attempt at settlement was in 1585. Thus we see there were twenty-five years of famine, disorder, slaughter and destruction.



### **Address of the Rockbridge Col. Society.**

We introduce the following extracts from this well-written and very able Address, with an entire conviction, that if an apology for their appearance in our work should be deemed needful, they will abundantly speak their own apology. Coming, as they do, from the central part of Virginia, they will fully evince, that we have in that quarter, at least one distinguished friend, in addition to those whom we knew before. But further, they

doubtless contain the sentiments of many; and viewed in this light they are peculiarly interesting, especially as those sentiments are expressed in a clear, concise and forcible manner. We confidently trust, that so much zeal and intelligence will ever hereafter be alive and active in promoting this great cause of Africa and our country.

“The scheme of colonizing our coloured people, is not a new and untried theory, nor can it be traced to any impure or suspicious origin. Long ago, when the sages of the revolution still directed our public affairs, the Legislature of Virginia first adopted the scheme, took measures to carry it into effect, and would have proceeded with it, as the proper business of government, had they been able at that time, to obtain a foreign territory adapted to the purpose.

“About twelve years ago, some of the wisest men of the nation, (mostly slave-holders,) formed, in the city of Washington, the present American Colonization Society. Among them were men high in office, who had spent many years in studying the interests of their country, and who could not, therefore, be suspected of short-sighted enthusiasm, or any secret design of disturbing the rights or the safety of our Southern citizens.

“Experience has so far proved the wisdom of their plan.— They have sent about 1400 coloured people to Africa; settled them in a good country, where they flourish beyond all previous expectation: and thus have the Society demonstrated, that nothing is wanting to complete success, but an adherence to the same wise principles, and a general movement of our citizens in favour of the scheme.

“The scheme itself is a simple one. It is, *to remove, with their consent, the free people of colour from the United States; and to colonize or settle them in Africa, the country of their forefathers*

“You will observe, first, that there is to be no intermeddling with property in slaves. The rights of masters are to remain sacred in the eyes of the Society. The tendency of the scheme, and one of its objects, is to secure slave-holders, and the whole Southern country, against certain evil consequences, growing out of the present three-fold mixture of our population. If slave-holders shall choose to liberate their slaves, for the purpose of having them removed to Africa, there is nothing to pre-

vent them; and this effect of the scheme, instead of tending to evil, is not more gratifying to humanity, than it is favourable to the general interest of our citizens.

“Observe, secondly, that every thing is to be voluntary: those only are to be sent away, who willingly offer themselves. The rights of all parties are to be respected. Those who go, will go freely, with the hope of bettering their condition. Those who are released from slavery, for the purpose of being sent to the Colony, will be released by the voluntary act of their masters.

“The free coloured people are generally too poor to bear the expense of a long voyage, and of a new settlement in a distant country. They depend on our citizens for charitable aid; and this is what we solicit you to join in affording to them. Some of them are able to pay all their expenses; others, particularly such as are newly emancipated, are so miserably destitute, as to need donations of food, clothing and utensils.

“These are the principles of the Colonization Society. We can perceive nothing in them to alarm the most timid, or to offend the most conscientious man in the country.”

“It will appear too on the least reflection, that our interest will be promoted by this scheme of Colonization. At a moderate expense we shall relieve our country of a growing pest; we shall make room for a better population, and secure the continuance of domestic peace and prosperity.

“The scheme of Colonization will not only extend to the people of colour who are now free, but it will occasion an increased disposition in masters to liberate their slaves, for the purpose of sending them to Africa. It has already produced that effect.— There are thousands of humane slave-holders in the Southern States, who have been restrained from liberating their slaves, by considerations of humanity and policy. The wretched condition of free negroes in our country, makes it doubtful to many good men, whether slaves would be benefited by manumission; unless they could be removed to a better situation than they can find in this country. It is certainly inexpedient also to multiply the number of our free coloured population, for reasons which we have already suggested.

“Now the scheme of colonizing them in Africa, where they will have a fine soil to cultivate, a large commerce to excite

their enterprise; and every privilege and institution calculated to promote their improvement—this will not only remove objections to manumission, but will offer every inducement to it, which humanity and policy can afford.”

“We have said enough to prove the expediency—or rather the absolute necessity of colonization. But the vast amount, of the coloured people, seems to afford a disheartening prospect; and makes numbers of our citizens give up the cause in despair. But the difficulties are not so great, as at first sight we may apprehend.

“Let us recur to the principle abovementioned—that every black family occupies the room of a white family. On this principle we are lost, if we suffer the coloured population to multiply, unchecked, upon our hands; because they will increase faster than the whites, and will crowd them out of all the Southern country. But on the same principle we are saved, if by means of colonization, we can retard the increase of the blacks, and gain ground on them in the South. That we can do with ease, if our people will unite in prosecuting the scheme. Every family taken from the blacks, will add also a family to the whites, and make an actual difference of two families in our favour. This exchange will leave fewer blacks to remove, while it will increase our ability to remove them. Thus, at every step in the work of colonization, our labour will become less, and our ability greater. If we colonize 1000 a year, we shall every year gain a relative strength of 2000. Let us remove 10,000 a year, and we gain, relatively, 20,000 each year, and 200,000 in ten years.

“We affirm therefore, that a vigorous commencement alone is wanting, to ensure success. Set the work fairly in motion; and like a stone which rolls down hill, it will gather force and velocity as it proceeds. A small but happy commencement has been made. The fertile country of Liberia has been purchased, containing vacant land enough for many thousand additional families; the business has been put in train, and wants but united exertion, on our part, to give it the decisive push. Now is the time for every friend of the measure, to put forth all his exertions in its behalf. Every year’s delay now, adds 80,000 to those whom it is our duty and our policy to diminish. But every year’s exertion will deduct more and more from that fearful

increase, and give a constantly accelerated gain to the increase of our citizens."

"Self-interest and self-preservation furnish motives enough to excite our exertions; benevolence, of the most pure and diffusive kind, unites her voice in the same cause. We have before described the wretched condition of our free coloured people.— Let us consider whether a removal to Africa, would not place them in far happier circumstances.

"Africa is a continent of vast extent, stretching 4,800 miles from North to South; and at the broadest part, 4000 miles from East to West. Though much of it consists of sandy deserts; one half, probably, is a fertile country, and, in many parts, it is exceedingly rich. The climate is every where warm, and being the native climate of the negro race, it is agreeable to their constitution. Along the Western side, opposite to America, there is a line of coast 3000 miles in extent, backed by a fertile country, and rich in valuable products, such as rice, cotton, coffee, sugar, drugs, dye-stuffs, ivory and gold-dust. The coast of Guinea, about 1500 miles in length, has been for centuries infested by the slave-trade; and the greater part of it has been reduced to a wilderness. Our negroes came chiefly from that naturally rich country: and back to that land of their forefathers we desire to send them. Probably one hundred millions of fertile acres, are lying uncultivated there, which might be purchased of the feeble and barbarous natives for a small compensation. The Colony of Liberia lies near the centre of that coast. Never did a people in similar circumstances prosper more than the people of that Colony, who were so lately a portion of our degraded and wretched free negroes; they are in their own country; they live on their own soil; they are *the people* of the land, who will have the making of the laws, and the sole management of their own affairs, as soon as they are prepared for that event.

"It has been doubted, whether our coloured people be capable of becoming a free and civilized nation. Those who entertain this doubt, have not made sufficient allowance for the unfortunate condition of the coloured race, both in America and in Africa. What can be expected of men who have been untaught, enslaved, despised, and thrust out from every society and every institution, by which they might be improved? How could they

be otherwise than ignorant, rude, and unqualified to act a part in life, for which they were not educated, and to which they durst not aspire? In Hayti, where they rose suddenly to liberty and independence; they have managed their affairs as well as the new nations of Spanish America. In the colony of Liberia, to which about 1400 of them have removed, from this country; they give promise of becoming as wise and orderly a community as ever was formed under like circumstances.

“We are told, what is in itself agreeable to the nature of things,—that when our coloured people reach the African shore, and find themselves to be the people, lords of the soil, fathers of a free nation, and heralds of civilization to a vast continent;—they feel a new spirit within them—their souls rise to the dignity of their station, and expand to the breadth of their prospects.

“It would be imprudent, we admit, to crowd the unprepared multitude of our coloured people, too rapidly into Africa. The evil consequences of such a measure may be avoided, by the establishment of schools in some suitable part of the United States, and also in Africa, in order to give some of them a preparatory education,—and by taking care to send over the necessary proportions of the more intelligent and virtuous among them.—Schools are established for the whole population of Liberia; in process of time, the rising generation will come forth in that country, with the ideas and habits of intelligent citizens; and will keep up a healthy action in the body politic, though many of our rude emigrants should continue to arrive among them.

“The African tribes are mostly in a state of wretched barbarism, which is not owing to natural incapacity, but to their unfortunate condition. During 250 years, they have been the prey of avarice and cruelty. The slave-trade has infested their coasts, and kept their people at continual war, to supply the traders with captives for the American market. In vain have Britain and the United States endeavoured, lately, to stop this inhuman traffic. Nothing will stop it, while the diabolical traders can obtain slaves in Africa. Let us line the coast with colonies; and shut up all the avenues of the trade. Already has the little Colony of Liberia excluded the dealers in human flesh from 200 miles of coast. A dozen such colonies at proper distances, would leave the miscreants scarce a door out of

which to drag their prey. It is time to stop their work, which has kept Africa in tears and barbarism—filled America with slaves, and whitened the bottom of the ocean between them, with the bones of those who perished on the way. Last year, probably 80,000 miserable creatures were torn from Africa, crammed into filthy ships, and conveyed into hopeless bondage in the Southern part of our continent; except eight or ten thousand, who were killed by ill usage on the way, and thrown to the sharks. This horrible business has been going on in the same way for centuries.

“Our colonies will deliver Africa and America from this desolating curse. They will make some compensation for the incalculable miseries which it has produced, by diffusing civilization and Christianity among all the tribes in their neighbourhood. Already is the colony of Liberia exercising a salutary influence on the tribes of the vicinity. Some of them have actually petitioned for instruction in the arts and religion, which elevate their new neighbors so far above the ancient inhabitants of the country. Missionaries are proceeding to the work with every prospect of success. Hitherto the tribes of Africa have been almost unapproachable to the Christian Missionary. The colour of white men, the unhealthiness of the climate to their constitutions, and the want of a refuge among warring barbarians, have proved insuperable obstacles. But these obstacles exist no longer in Liberia. Black missionaries can be employed, the tribes are at peace, and they see with admiration, the example set before them, of what real Christians (not slave-traders) are. The colony is a hive from which the labourers can issue, and into which, in case of necessity, they may retire. It is a radiating point from which light will emanate and diffuse itself, far into the surrounding darkness. Such will be every successive colony planted by the Christian charity of our nation.

“Does not Divine Providence point out this as the one and only way, in which poor Ethiopia shall at last ‘stretch out her hands unto God?’

“Difficulty has been apprehended in obtaining a sufficient number of emigrants, if we attempt to colonize on a large scale. Many of the free people are either ignorant of the scheme, or prejudiced against it. They are suspicious of white men; and



judging from past experience, they are fearful of a deep-laid plot to enslave them again. Their prejudices will be removed in the progress of the work. Information will be diffused—they who emigrate will send back word of their situation and prospects. The subject will excite increasing attention among them, and every successive year will find them better informed, and present them with additional motives to join their brethren in Africa. Benevolent masters will furnish increasing numbers to swell the tide of emigrants. Thus far, at least, the Society has been unable to transport them as fast as they have offered themselves. Fifteen who belong to our county have applied for a passage. A gentleman of Georgia has lately proposed to send his slaves, to the number of 45, if he could obtain aid from the Society. But the funds are wanting. If our citizens be wise, they will hereafter provide means for all who are ready and qualified to go. None should be under the necessity of waiting a single year, before they leave our country, and make room for white citizens.

“The expense of the colonization scheme is made a serious objection by many of our citizens. We acknowledge the expense to be great. But what human evil is removed or blessing obtained without cost? We put it to the judgment and conscience of any man to say, whether the ends which the Colonization Society has in view, would not justify almost any expenditure within the compass of our ability? Add the evils which will be removed, to the positive benefits that will accrue—look to the future, and calculate the amount, and then say how many millions of dollars it is worth; and how much every citizen of the United States, and especially, in the Southern States, can afford to pay for the whole.—We shall then be prepared to demonstrate to you, that the actual cost will fall infinitely below the value of the measure. Were it possible, or desirable, to remove all our coloured population at once, the expense would hardly exceed the sum which was expended by the government, in one year of the late war with Great Britain. But we may take 20 or 30 years to pay that sum in the present undertaking, and thereby accomplish the main ends of the scheme; the safety of our country, the relief of a large portion of our coloured people, the civilization of a continent, and the eternal destruction of the slave-trade.

“The cost is now at the rate of perhaps \$30 for each person sent to Africa. If the work be carried on vigorously, the rate per head will continue to diminish. This will appear evident from the following considerations.

“1. It is always cheaper to carry on such undertakings on a large, than on a small scale, and to proceed with it after a good beginning has been made, and experience has been gained.

“2. When the colonies have grown and gotten into a regular train of business, a large commerce will arise between us and them. Ships will carry out fine and valuable goods to bring raw produce in return. The outward cargo being generally lighter, emigrants may be taken at a low rate.

“3. When the colonists acquire property, and get into regular business, they will want hands in their fields, shops and commercial operations. They can then afford immediate employment to new emigrants, and pay their passage in order to obtain their services. Thus many poor emigrants may be sent at little or no expense to this country.

“4. The Colonies will after a while defray all the expenses of their own government—purchase lands for new settlers, and contribute, in various ways to reduce the expense of adding to their own population.

“It is not unreasonable to calculate, that in the course of time, the work of colonization may proceed rapidly with but little aid from our citizens. To bring that to pass, however, in any reasonable time, we must soon lay a broad foundation, by hastening the growth of the present Colony, and establishing others.”



## Naval Intelligence.

*Portsmouth, July 12.*—The *Diadem* transport arrived on Thursday from Sierra Leone; which place she left on the 17th May.—She brings home returned stores and invalids. The Colony and Squadron were very healthy. Com. Collier was there, in the *Sybil* frigate, refitting, but intended to proceed to Ascension in about ten days.—The Commodore had been fortunate in the capture of slave vessels, having carried into Sierra Leone a Dutch schooner, with 272 slaves, and a Spanish schoo-

ner, with 282 slaves; also a schooner called the *Hope*, of 180 tons burden (which vessel had recently been employed as a tender to the *Maidstone*), with a cargo on board for the purchase of slaves. The *Sybille* has not been on the station more than ten months, and in that period she has captured nearly 1200 slaves. The *Primrose* and *Plumper* were also there.—About the 1st of May, the *Black Joke*, Lt. W. Turner, tender to the *Sybille*, fell in with a Spanish privateer, and had a severe action. The *Black Joke* had on board 43 men, with one long gun on a swivel: the Spaniard mounted 14 carriage guns, of twelve and twenty-four-pounders, on Gover's principle, with a crew of 87 men, of all nations. Two days previously, she had been boarded by the *Sybille*, and had exhibited a regular commission, from the King of Spain, to cruise as a privateer against the vessels of the South American States. These two vessels fell in together in the night, and at day-light the Spaniard was observed with a red ensign (English); on approaching within hail, he promised to send a boat on board the *Black Joke*, but, immediately afterwards, said he had no boat that could swim, and requested one to be sent to him. Lieutenant Turner consequently sent a boat with two men and a Master's Mate, who were compelled to go on board the pirate, and who immediately sent an officer and five men in the same boat, to the *Black Joke*, with a demand to look at her papers. Lieutenant Turner, not wishing to compromise the safety of his three men on board the Spaniard, showed his commission, and Commodore Collier's orders to cruise; which, after a parley, were desired to be sent to the privateer, to compare with the signature of the Commodore, who had previously put his name to the back of the Spanish commission. Lieutenant Turner, however, prudently detained the officer and two men, as hostages for his own people. A demand was then made that the *Black Joke* should send 15 of her crew on board the privateer, who would send the like number of men to the former, and that both vessels should go to Princess Island. This having been, of course refused, the privateer immediately fired into the tender a broadside, when the *Black Joke*, immediately taking a position on the Spaniard's bow, engaged him for two hours, principally with grape shot, and nearly unrigged him.—The Spaniard then hoisted out a flag of truce, and sent our peo-

ple on board, whose lives had been several times attempted during the action, but who were saved solely by the intervention of the Captain. The Spaniards would not confess what their loss had been; several wounded men, however, were seen. Fortunately, the Black Joke had none of her people hurt, though her sails and rigging were much cut up. Too much encomium cannot be given to Lieut. Turner, for his intrepidity and judgment on the occasion. Fernando Po is losing ground in the estimation of all; its insalubrity rendering it a spot totally unfit for a settlement. Since the establishment, we have buried a man weekly, and sent home a great number of invalids; the natives also have shown a desire to avoid us, and never come near the settlement. No fresh beef is to be had, and very few fowls; and yams, which were so plentiful, are not now to be obtained; the North Star could not get one. Palm wine, for which only sixpence a gallon is paid, is drank in abundance by our seamen, and a more deleterious liquor cannot be taken; it invariably produces illness. The annual estimated cost of this establishment is £29,000. The North Star was on the Gold Coast, and the Clinker had sailed to the Gambia.

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### The late Rev. Jacob Oson.

*Messrs. Editors:*—Perhaps it may be gratifying to your readers, to know something more of the African Missionary (the Rev. Jacob Oson) whose death was announced in your last paper. In his case, we are furnished with a striking instance of the triumph of integrity, industry, application, and a patient and humble reliance on divine assistance, over all the disadvantages of colour and humble birth, and of the early associations arising from these circumstances. His early piety, his natural strength of mind, and his prudence and sound judgment, seemed to qualify him for usefulness; and he expressed a strong desire, nearly twenty years ago, to enter the gospel ministry. But his education was insufficient, at that time, to enable him advantageously to commence the study of divinity; and the state of the coloured population throughout the country was such, as to hold out but little prospect of gathering a congregation to receive his minis-

trations. Such, however, was his desire to qualify himself for the sacred office, that he found time, amid the care and labour of rearing a large family, to make very considerable progress in an English education; and, eventually, by keeping a school for coloured children, he not only added to his stock of knowledge, but became an experienced and successful teacher. From the moment that an American colony was established on the coast of Africa, he began to look forward to that oppressed and degraded country, as the scene of his future labours; and having produced satisfactory testimonials of character and qualifications, to the ecclesiastical authority of Connecticut, he was admitted as a candidate for holy orders. He now applied himself diligently to his studies; and when the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society were prepared to send a Missionary to Liberia, he received and accepted the appointment. He was soon after admitted to holy orders, by the Right Rev. Bishop Brownell, and was taken into the employ of the Society. The necessary outfits were prepared, every thing was in readiness for his departure, and he anxiously waited for a passage to the station which he fondly hoped he was destined to occupy. But it pleased Providence to disappoint his expectations, and to frustrate, for the present, the plans of the Society. Though he had hitherto enjoyed an unusual share of good health, he now fell into a rapid decline, which terminated his earthly existence, on the very day that he was directed to repair to Philadelphia, to take his passage for the Colony. In the view of approaching death, but one consideration appeared to distress him—and this was, that he was never to be permitted to see Africa. He frequently remarked, that he could realize no terror in death; and sometimes expressed a fear, that this circumstance might be considered as an evidence of stupidity or hardness. He bore a long and distressing illness with fortitude and composure, and enjoyed the unobscured use of his reason, until the close of his life. He received the holy eucharist, for the last time, a few days before his death; and being asked, on the day of his departure, whether his faith and hope in the Redeemer remained steadfast, he replied, with great emphasis—"stronger and stronger!" He finally sunk into the sleep of death, without a struggle.—[*E. Watchman.*

## **Ladies' Associations,**

### *Auxiliary to the American Colonization Society.*

It affords us great pleasure to announce the fact, that many Ladies in Richmond have formed themselves into a Society to aid the objects of our Institution, and that efforts for a similar purpose have been engaged in by the Ladies of Petersburg.—We feel grateful for the interest which has thus been manifested in our cause; and we expect much from these proceedings; especially, we cannot but hope that they will serve as a bright example to other ladies to exercise their feelings, their talents, and their influence in our favour, in a similar way, and thus to bring forward their efforts and their sympathies in the cause of patriotism and humanity. The state of Africa and of our country in relation to that continent, makes its strongest appeal to the more mild and tender emotions of the heart; and we trust that the fair portion of our community, in whom those emotions are peculiarly vivid, will be awake to a subject which calls so loudly for their attention, which has not been sufficiently urged upon them, and to which in fact, they have, as yet, too little attended.



## **Annual Meeting of the Society.**

The Annual Meeting of the Society will be held in this City, on the 17th of January. It will add greatly to the interest of the occasion, should the several Auxiliary Institutions represent themselves by Delegates. We misinterpret the signs of the times, or the year upon which we are shortly to enter, is to be one of vast importance to our work, and of far more rapid advancement to measures for its execution. Let, then, all who implore Heaven's blessing upon it, stir each other up to liberality and nobler deeds in its behalf.



## **Expedition to Liberia.**

We are happy to say, that the Society is very soon (probably within four or five weeks) to despatch an expedition with about one hundred and fifty emigrants to Liberia. As the effort to do this will bring into requisition all the resources which can be

obtained, it is hoped that our friends will not relax, but rather give new vigour to their exertions. The number which can now be transported is only about one-fifth of the whole number now seeking a passage. The disposition to remove is daily increasing among the free people of colour, and hence all who desire the improvement of their condition, or Africa's redemption, should go forward with more burning zeal and mightier resolution.



We have just received the following lines on the Death of Ashmun from a distinguished lady and poetess, already well known to the public for the excellence of her composition and sentiments. We give it a place in the Repository, with the hope of something more from her pen, confident that it will afford high gratification to all who may honour our work with a perusal.

FOR THE "REPOSITORY."

### Death of Ashmun.

Whose is yon sable bier?—  
 Why move the throng so slow?—  
 Why doth that lonely mother's tear  
 In sudden anguish flow?—  
 Why is that sleeper laid  
 To rest in manhood's pride?—  
 How gain'd his cheek such pallid shade?—  
 I spake,—but none replied.  
 The hoarse wave murmur'd low,  
 The distant surges roar'd.—  
 And o'er the sea in tones of woe  
 A deep response was pour'd:  
 I heard sad Africk mourn  
 Upon her billowy strand,—  
 A shield was from her bosom torn,  
 An anchor from her hand.—  
 Ah! well I know thee now,  
 Though foreign suns would trace  
 Deep lines of death upon thy brow,  
 Thou friend of misery's race.—  
 Their leader when the blast  
 Of ruthless war swept by,—  
 Their teacher when the storm was past,  
 Their guide to worlds on high.—

Bent o'er the lowly tomb  
 Where thy soul's idol lay,  
 I saw thee rise above the gloom,  
 And hold thy changeless way—  
 Stern sickness woke a flame  
 That on thy vigour fed,—  
 But deathless courage nerv'd the frame  
 When health and strength had fled.—  
 Spirit of Power,—pass on!—  
 Thy homeward wing is free,—  
 Earth may not claim thee for her son,—  
 She hath no chain for thee:—  
 Toil might not bow thee down,—  
 Nor Sorrow check thy race,—  
 Nor Pleasure win thy birthright crown,—  
 Go to thy own blest place!—

HARTFORD, CON. 1828.

L. H. S.

### Contributions

*To the Am. C. Society during the month of November, 1828.*

Collections by Rev. George Duffield, Esq. as follows, viz:

in Presbyterian Church, Carlisle, Pa. ....	\$6 41
in Associate Reformed Church, at ditto, ....	6 25
in Dickinson Church, in Cumberland county, .....	2 50
	<hr/> \$15 16

Collections by Grove Wright, Esq. in New York, as follows, viz:

From the Church at Ovid, New York, .....	\$10
From the Church at Percy, New York, .....	7
Siles Pepoon, Esq. Ohio, .....	7
From the Church at Danvill, New York, .....	15 17
From the Church at Williamstown, Massachusetts, .	32 97
From the Church at Plattsburgh, New York, .....	10
	<hr/> 82 14

Collection by Ladies at Shepherdstown, Virginia, to make John Matthews, D. D. a life member, .....

10

Collection by Ladies at Oak Hill, Fauquier county, Virginia, in the parish of Leeds, to make Rev. George Lemmon a life member, per Thomas Marshall, Esq. ....

30

Collection from small country Congregations about Union Town, Maryland, per Rev. G. Duris, .....

8

*Carried forward,* 

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\$145 30



*Amount brought forward,* \$145 60  
**Collections in Alexandria by the Agent, for the expedition this  
 fall to Africa, as follows:**

Thomas Smith, .....	\$10	
Rev. W. C. Walton, .	5	
Mr. Riddle, .....	1	
George Johnson, ....	1	
Mr. Myers, .....	1	
H. Smith, .....	1	
Thomas Sanford, ....	1	
Mr. Blacklock, .....	1	
Mr. Wood, .....	1	
Thomas W. Smith, .	1	
Rev. Mr. Harrison, ..	1	
Rev. S. Cornelius, ..	1	
Various individuals, .	5	18
		<hr/>
	\$30	18
Deduct expenses, ..	1	25
		<hr/>
		28 93
Rev. Charles Dresser, of Halifax county, Virginia, .....		3
James C. Dunn, for the following sums transmitted him, viz:		
By D. A. Sherman, Esq. of Chittenango, New York, ...	\$3	
By N. M. Wilson, Esq. of Morgantown, Virginia, .....	2	
		<hr/>
		5
Vermont Auxiliary Society, per D. Baldwin, Esq. Tr.	\$234	43
Deduct discount on draft,	78	
		<hr/>
		233 65
Matthew Carey, Esq. of Philadelphia, his first payment on the plan of Gerrit Smith, Esq. ....		100
A Lady in Northumberland, Pennsylvania, .....		10
A friend* in Alexandria, .....		10
Liberia Society, Essex county, Va. per J. M. Garnett, Esq. ...		20
The same good "Lady" who transmitted \$10 in October, per William Brown, Esq. Charlestown, Virginia, .....		10
Auxiliary Society, Fredericksburg, Va. per W. F. Gray, Esq. ..		100
Do. do. Cincinnati, per George Graham, Jr. ....		125
Do. do. of the Ohio State, per L. Reynolds, Esq. Tr.		150
		<hr/>
		\$940 88

\* This friend is under the impression that he made a similar remittance in September—none such was received; but in July last, he will find by the Repository, that such a sum is credited.

THE  
**AFRICAN REPOSITORY,**  
AND  
**COLONIAL JOURNAL.**

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**VOL. IV. DECEMBER, 1828. No. 10.**

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**Africa.**

As it has become one of the grand ultimate designs of our Society to enlighten and civilize a very large portion of our world's population; to deliver them from the miseries of moral and political bondage; and as the field of its substantial hopes and prospects, if not of its present operations and influence, is already extended over the whole of Africa, it is a desideratum of much importance, that a concise and comprehensive account should be given of that continent, derived from authentic documents, and divested of the fiction and idle conjecture, with which most accounts of that dark quarter of our earth have abounded.

**HISTORY.**

The whole of the History of Africa, ever recorded or made known to the civilized world, has reached in the main no further than its outskirts and its shores; while the principal part of that vast country has from time immemorial been covered with Egyptian darkness, except that at distant intervals, a brief glance, as if aided by a single flash of lightning, has penetrated into the interior, and has produced no accurate and well defined impression; but still it has produced a decided though confused impression, of depravity and cruelty in the extreme; of vice and disorder; of mental and moral imbecility; of ignorance and bar-

barism; of degradation and wretchedness; a picture, around which the horrors and atrocities of the slave-trade scarcely threw a gloomier or more distressing aspect; a picture, from which all the better principles of our nature revolted, and endeavoured to contemplate them as a dream, and not as a reality.

Africa was doubtless originally peopled by the descendants of Ham. The testimony of Scripture on this point is clear and decisive. In addition to the evidence, that in the general division of the earth after the flood, the south was assigned to Ham; Mizraim, the name of one of the sons of Ham, is generally given to Egypt in the Hebrew Bible; and Cush, the name of another of the sons of Ham, is generally applied to Ethiopia, or Africa in general, and in the English translation it is rendered Ethiopia. Egypt is in the Hebrew Scriptures sometimes called the land of Ham, as it was also by its ancient inhabitants, though its proper name is Mizraim. The Septuagint uniformly renders Phut, another name of the sons of Ham, by Lybians, the name of a race of people to the west of Egypt. A colony of Phenicians, or Canaanites, descendants of another of Ham's sons, it is well known, settled at Carthage, and spread themselves over the most of the country that is at present comprised in the states of Barbary.

Africa, notwithstanding, is pronounced by common consent, the birthplace and cradle of civilization, as well as of the arts and sciences. In one corner of that dark continent was kindled the light, which was destined to blaze so conspicuously in Greece and Rome, and which was to attain, under the auspices of Christianity, in Europe and America, the full splendor of its meridian brightness. And delightful indeed is the prospect, the certainty, that it is soon to return, matured and baptised, unblemished and unclouded, to the place of its nativity. Joyful, indescribably joyful to Africa, will be the return of her sons redeemed and renovated, conveying with them the primitive but departed production of her own intellect, improved and perfected. The impress of her misery will be obliterated, the cloud of her grief will vanish, and even the love for her children will be almost forgotten, while she exalts in the influence and light of civilization and of heaven.

Moses, we are told, was skilled in all the learning of the Egypt-

tians: and we find in him, aside from his functions as an inspired prophet, at that early period when written language was scarcely known at all, an eminent example of learning and acquired abilities: a striking and decisive proof of the greatness at that time of African attainments.

Both in ancient and modern times Africa has been, perhaps equally, an object of intense curiosity, frequently heightened by false or exaggerated accounts. There, imagination delineated the hitherto inaccessible abodes of the blest; Edens guarded, if not by a flaming sword, at least by burning deserts. There also, in less favoured spots, she figured to herself the diminutive and the monstrous. Permitted to wander alone, she drew her delineations, and indulged her phrensy, without fear of restraint or danger of contradiction. She even at times exerted a controlling power over the senses of voyagers and travellers. Prior to the date of authentic history, many efforts appear to have been made to circumnavigate Africa. The first attempt on record, is mentioned by Herodotus as having been made by a number of Phenicians, in pursuance of the order of Necho, king of Egypt. The voyage, commencing from the shore of the Red Sea, lasted nearly three years. When their provisions were exhausted, they procured a fresh supply by landing, sowing their seed, and waiting till the crop was ready to be gathered. On their return they related, that when they were south of Africa, the sun was north of them; a fact which Herodotus, from his ignorance of astronomy, discredited, but which really goes to prove, that the voyage around the continent was at that time accomplished. Several other strenuous attempts were made, but it is not known that any were successful, though a considerable extent of coast was in this way explored. Some found supernatural wonders, and all of them obstacles, which to them seemed insuperable. It was reserved for modern times, to reduce to nothing the impossibilities of antiquity.

To penetrate the interior has as yet been found a still more difficult and arduous performance. Herodotus relates, that a few young men, from the coast of the Mediterranean, traversed the habitable parts of Lybia, and the great desert beyond, till they arrived at a plain diversified with a few trees, where they were seized by a company of blacks, and conveyed through ex-

tensive marshes, to a city situated on a great river which flowed from west to east, frequented by crocodiles. This river was doubtless the Niger. The only character given of the inhabitants was, that they were impostors or sorcerers; a sufficient indication that the present superstitious practices of the Africans at that time existed. There is evidence that other attempts at discovery in the interior were made in ancient times; but there is nothing recorded respecting them, that is worthy of being related.

The arm of conquest appears to have been little more successful in these inhospitable regions. Nebuchadnezzar, Cambyses and Alexander, successively subdued Egypt: but they found the torrid atmosphere and sands of the desert, more powerful opponents than the vegetable and animal gods of the Egyptians.—Cambyses divided his army into two parts, one of which he himself led toward Abyssinia. Soon, however, their provisions were exhausted. They supported themselves first by killing all the cattle belonging to the expedition; then on the scanty herbage which came in their way; and at last by devouring each other. Cambyses returned with only a remnant of the division of his army with which he had started. The other division took the direction of Ammon, the modern oasis of Siwah, and were never heard of again. They were never known to have arrived at Ammon, or to have returned to Egypt, and the sands of the desert probably furnished them with a home and a grave. Alexander, instigated at the time more by vanity than a desire or an expectation of conquest, traversed the desert with his army, through immense sufferings, from Memphis to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and obtained from the priests the empty title of the son of Jupiter. The Romans, Saracens and Turks, extended their conquests over Egypt and the States of Barbary. The numerous fugitives from their victorious arms fled far into the interior, if they fortunately survived the hardships of their flight, not to return to the homes which they had abandoned, but to exercise a predominating influence among the more barbarous tribes of the country; to impose on ignorance and superstition their religion and learning as miraculous; to plant new colonies in unknown regions; to sustain the interests of a perilous but lucrative commerce, while from jealousy their discoveries were kept a secret; or to perish by the climate and diseases of the less

salubrious parts of Africa. These new comers, and their descendants generally, so far as they were distinguishable from the original inhabitants, have been designated by the name of Moors, probably because the most of them came originally from ancient Mauritania. The Moorish character, and an excess of the Moorish influence, is almost every where mingled with those of the aboriginals of Africa.

It ought to be remarked, that besides those who fled from invasion, a considerable number, influenced by the love of gain, subjected themselves voluntarily to the same perils and hardships that were incurred by the fugitives. Of these the Arabs were the most numerous and the most conspicuous. They even wrote accounts of the interior of Africa. They described some of the kingdoms situated on a great river, at that time called the Nile of the Negroes. It flowed, as they supposed, from east to west, and the part described by them lies far to the east of Tombuctoo and Houssa. Situated on the eastern part of this river, was the kingdom of Ghana, the most splendid and powerful at that time known in the interior of Africa. The palace of the king was adorned with painting and sculpture, and lighted with glass windows: and the chief ornament of his throne was a mass of native gold weighing thirty pounds. The dress of the common people, however, was rude and simple, composed merely of a belt, which was frequently made of the skins of wild animals. Subject to the king of Ghana was Wangara, or the land of gold. This was overflowed in the rainy season by the waters of the river, and it was immediately after they had subsided, that the gold was sought for, and that merchants arrived from all parts of Africa to procure it. West of Ghana, was the kingdom of Tocrur. South of these kingdoms lay Lamlam, an extensive, and comparatively barren and savage country, where was carried on to a considerable extent the business of slave hunting, by those who dwelt near the river. The victims when taken became an article of traffic with northern Africa. Other countries in that region were described by the Arabs, of which the lower orders were rudely and scantily clad; the merchants wore vests, tunics, caps and ornaments of gold; and the nobility were clothed in satin. All this does not indicate, that they were otherwise than savage: the rough products of their country,

slaves, gold and ivory, procured from abroad those conveniences and luxuries of civilized life, which could not be produced among them.

About the time of the Reformation, Leo Africanus, a native of Grenada in Spain, fled from the arms of Ferdinand, took refuge in Fez, and both as a traveller and ambassador, traversed a great part of Africa. He found that the kingdom of Tombuctoo had then recently risen by its commercial advantages, and the enterprise of its sovereigns, and that Ghana itself, under the name of Cano, and many other kingdoms, had become subject to its power. The houses of the city, however, were built in the form of bells, the walls of stakes or hurdles, plastered with clay, and the roofs of reeds interwoven together. One mosque and the royal palace were built of stone; but the artist had been brought from Grenada. Cotton cloth was woven in great quantity, and the merchants were extremely rich; two of whom had married the king's daughters. The country abounded with corn, cattle and the other necessities of life. Salt was brought five hundred miles, and a camel's load sold for eighty ducats. Horses were not bred, but imported from Barbary. Manuscripts were in great demand, probably because they were then, as at the present day, represented by the Moors, and considered by the superstitious Africans, as a charm to keep off evil. The inhabitants were mild, and spent a great part of the night in singing and dancing. The city was much exposed to fire, and in five hours one half of it had been consumed. The religion was Mahometan, but apparently more tolerant then, than in modern times. The merchants of Tombuctoo, on the rise of the river, conveyed their goods in a small canoe made of a single tree.—Hardly any characteristics were then to be found, but those of barbarism and rudeness.

In the fifteenth century, the commencement of the era of great discoveries in religion and nature, a new impulse was given to inquiry respecting the unknown regions of Africa. The Portuguese led the way. But as if fiction itself was doomed to extend the boundaries of science, the great object of their search, was a reputed christian monarch, whose fame they had heard, and whom they called Prester John; but they were uncertain whether he resided in Asia or Africa. Thus they must wander

through the world to find him, like Ceres in search of her daughter. Compared with this fictitious catholic prince, gold itself had lost its inducements. The mariners in the various expeditions sent to Africa, were directed to inquire diligently, if the inhabitants knew any thing of Prester John; to penetrate frequently into the interior, and on hearing of any sovereign, to send an embassy and inquire if he was Prester John, or if he knew where Prester John could be found. The result was as might be expected: Prester John evaded them; but their search in other respects was far from fruitless. They coasted along the shores of the Sahara, passed Cape Blanco, discovered the rich and productive regions of the Senegal and Gambia, and the false idea of their catholic hero, gave way to ambition and the love of gain. They formed an establishment on Arguin, an island not far from the shore. A native prince having called upon them to aid him in regaining his crown, he was taken to Lisbon, and there gave a splendid account of the interior of Africa. At least the dominions of Prester John seemed now to have been discovered. A formidable fleet was equipped, and although the deposed prince was assassinated on account of some misunderstanding between him and the Portuguese, the appearance of such an armament in Africa, produced a sensation all along the banks of the Senegal and Niger, very far into the interior. Alliances were formed by the Portuguese with nations even as far off as Tombuctoo. Still the Portuguese monarch was in quest of Prester John; but he took care as much as possible to establish his power, wherever he extended his inquiries. He obtained, when he could, a promise from all, that they would aid him in the discovery of this mysterious personage. He pushed his adventures and discoveries around the continent, and far into the interior, established the Catholic religion in Congo, and other countries; gave birth to the slave-trade; set up every where in pillars of stone, the dumb ensigns of his dominion; and had his power and success equalled his desires, he himself would have become the Prester John, the emperor of Africa.

This was the birth time of the hopes, as well as the deepest miseries of Africa: and when a new world was discovered in the west, one in the east was destined to struggle into a new existence, through pangs untold and unequalled. The slave-trade



without, acting on the desire of the native Africans for foreign luxuries, kindled all the fiercest fires of internal war, and spread, in an unprecedented and dreadful manner, dissension and hatred and rapine throughout the continent. The horrid accompaniments of the slave-trade, and the violence and kidnapping on the coast, were but faint indications, although they were the moving causes, of the awful convulsions that rent and distracted the heart of Africa. If guilt is answerable for all its consequences, dreadful indeed will be the account, hereafter to be rendered by the authors and supporters of the slave-trade.

From the period of the first brilliant successes of the Portuguese, up to the present time, adventurers into the interior of Africa, too numerous even to mention in this article, have followed each other in succession, and have added much to our knowledge of that continent. Among them, perhaps the most distinguished are Bruce, Ledyard, Lucas, Park, Riley, Brown, Bowdich, Denham and Clapperton. Still, however, much remains to be done; and perhaps, as in our own country, we must look to the force of steam, acting on the great rivers of Africa, to accomplish what as yet for mere human power, has been found too great an achievement.



### **Letter from Dr. Blumhardt.**

Our readers have been already informed that this excellent man is at the head of the Missionary College at Basle, Switzerland, and that no less than five devoted missionaries have gone forth from the Institution over which he presides, to instruct in the arts and Christianity the poor Africans in the vicinity of our Colony. Extracts from a letter of Mr. Sessing, one of these missionaries, were published in our Number for October.

BASLE, OCT. 21, 1828.

*Dear Sir:* By a copy of your kind letter of September 10, to Messrs. DeRham, Iselin & Moore, at New York, I was yesterday informed of the death of your worthy Agent, Mr. Ashmun; and I cannot forbear to express to you our heartfelt sympathy and grief, on that mysterious dispensation of God. We deplore in this late lamented friend, a very excellent and zealous ser-

vant of Christ, and cannot but regard his departure to eternal blessedness, as a severe loss to your Colony as well as to the missionary work amongst the surrounding negro tribes. May our heavenly Father guide and help you to find another man after his own heart; who, urged by the love of Christ, will be willing to take the important office of your Colonial Agent, and who will continue to lend his friendly assistance to the work of God, for the enlightening and salvation of the poor negroes.

We take very much interest in your important choice of an Agent, as it must exercise a great influence upon our humble work on your coast, and beg you to be so kind as to give us notice whom you have appointed in our late lamented friend's place, and whether he is also moved by the same christian spirit and principles.

Messrs. DeRham, Iselin & Moore, have sent the provisions asked for by Rev. Mr. Sessing, and we are very much obliged to you for your having kindly communicated their wants to the above gentlemen. Continue, dear Sir, to cherish the Missionary work in your Colony and its labourers, our dear Brethren; have particularly the kindness to recommend them with concern to the benevolence and friendly assistance of your new Agent.

As I am wanting many numbers of Vol. I. and II. of your interesting African Repository, I have ordered the above mentioned gentlemen at New York, to procure these two volumes complete for me. Of Vol. IV. the numbers till June have reached me, and I should feel particularly obliged to you, if you would kindly order the editor to send the following numbers directly to Messrs. DeRham, Iselin & Moore, in New York, for me, and likewise your Annual Reports, and whatever you may publish, as we are now still more longing for every account of the state of your Colony. May the Lord, our God, bless you and your work with his best blessing. With Christian respect and esteem, Yours affectionately,

J. BLUMHARDT.

Permit me, dear Sir, to beg you to inform us, what would be the amount of the passage money from one of your ports to your Colony of Liberia, and how often and in what season your ships are generally sailing there. Do you think that our correspondence with Liberia would go directly, safely and quickly, by way of North America?

To R. R. GURLEY, Esq. *Sec. A. C. Society, Washington.*

## Mr. Key's Address.

It is well known to our readers, that a very respectable Auxiliary State Colonization Society has for some years existed in Pennsylvania, the Board of Managers of which reside in Philadelphia. In this City, however, so distinguished for its contributions to other charitable objects, our *own*, has heretofore been regarded with little favour, owing to misconceptions concerning its nature and the motives of those who seek its accomplishment. Hence the Managers of the Pennsylvania Society, have, very judiciously, availed themselves of various opportunities, to bring the design which they would promote, in its true character before their fellow citizens, and to remove the erroneous impressions in regard to it, which have existed in too many minds. And we rejoice to state, that the candid exhibition of our plan, and avowal of the reasons which demand its execution, have not proved inefficient, but that a great and auspicious change, has taken and is taking place towards our cause, in the opinions and feelings of the people of Philadelphia. Nor can we doubt, that the able address of Mr. Key, delivered before a large and respectable assemblage of the citizens on the 25th of last month, will powerfully aid this change, since the facts and arguments which it contains, show conclusively that it is impossible to reconcile a sober and commendable concern, either for the interests of the south or our coloured population, with hostility to the scheme of African Colonization. We here offer to our readers a few extracts from this Address.

"I feel gratified at the prospect which this meeting presents, that the sympathies of the inhabitants of this great city will, at last, be excited, in favour of the cause, which I now appear before you to advocate.

"The American Colonization Society, always entertained an expectation, from the commencement of their labours, that a time would come, when the scheme of patriotism and christian charity, which they offer to the consideration of their countrymen, would find friends and patrons in the northern cities. They looked with confidence to Philadelphia, in particular, knowing that many of her citizens were zealous in the cause of the abolition of slavery. When, several years ago, the subject was introduced to the attention of the citizens of this place, the Society were disappointed on finding that they met with no encouragement. They were disappointed and surprised; but they did not despond, for they felt satisfied that the intrinsic merit of the plan was such, as must ultimately recommend it to the approbation of all the benevolent and reflecting; and they were persuaded that although repeated efforts to attract favourable regard:

might fail, they must at length succeed. The managers confidently trust that the time *is come*, when their claims will be heard. I shall proceed, then, to lay before you a plain statement of the situation and prospects of the Society; of what we have done and what we intend to do: and to explain the grounds of that confidence, with which we now look to you for encouragement and co-operation.

"I presume you all know that the object of the Society is to establish upon the coast of Africa, a colony composed of free coloured persons from the United States, including such as have been manumitted by their masters for the purpose of their becoming colonists. This design has been so far executed, that an extensive, fertile and healthy territory has been obtained; and a colony, as flourishing, perhaps, for its age, as was ever settled any where, subsists upon it. All the difficulties that were apprehended and which many persons thought insuperable, have been overcome; and there is now no rational cause of fear that any thing will occur to impede its growth and prosperity."

Mr. Key proceeds to remark, that one of the consequences expected from the success of the Society, was, that manumission would be promoted: that this consequence has actually followed, even to so great an extent, that the Society is wholly unable to carry to Africa all the slaves that are offered them: that a way is thus gradually and safely to be opened for the peaceful termination of slavery throughout the country: that even to those who most ardently desire its termination, the colonizing scheme, leading, as it does, to voluntary manumission, is the only one which true wisdom can dictate: that it is admitted by all, with the exception perhaps of one in a million, to be a great evil: that it is a proper maxim to be adopted by a free people, that no political evil is irremediable, and especially as Providence will prosper wise and faithful attempts to remove it: that the use of force would be disastrous: that inflammatory publications tending to this, are no less to be deprecated: that legal compulsion in the case would be a direct violation of a solemn compact, and would almost certainly meet with resistance. He then presents the only alternative.

"May it not, then, be laid down as a plain truth, which we ought never to lose sight of; that, whatever plan may be adopted to effect this great object, it must be carried on *with the consent of the slave owners?* Success without this, I insist is hopeless: but even were there other schemes by which it was possible to effect the work; still, if there be one which can be conducted with the consent of those most interested in the subject, every

man guided by sound discretion and prudence will give it the preference.

“The Colonization Society, I undertake to show, presents such a scheme. Slave holders have given it their approbation; they will approve it, and they can approve of no other. Any scheme of emancipation without colonization, they know and see and feel to be productive of nothing but evil; evil to all whom it affects: to the white population, to the slaves, to the *manumitted themselves*. It is needless to offer facts and arguments in proof of this, to any man who will seriously reflect upon the unavoidable consequences of the mingling of three so discordant classes in the same community. Even among you, where every thing that benevolence could do, has been done, to make the freedom (as it is miscalled) of the coloured population beneficial to them; is it not acknowledged that they cannot be adequately protected in their personal, much less in the exercise of the civil rights allowed them by your laws, and which are essential to perfect freedom? Even here, they have but the name of liberty.

“If you can remove the great difficulty, that of the emancipated persons remaining in the country; if you can open a way by which they will be willing to remove; you take from thousands of slave-holders all their objections to emancipation, and they will freely, of their own accord, furnish more colonists from among their slaves, than the means to be obtained will enable you to transport, and more than it would be prudent to add at present to the population of the colony.

“It remains only to show (continued Mr. Key) that the execution of the Society's plan will be followed by the consequence predicted; the promotion of emancipation. It is reasonable to expect such a consequence. Can any one believe that the states in which slavery exists, desire its perpetuation; that they will not make an effort to relieve themselves from this evil, if a practicable and safe plan be presented to them? Slave-holders are like other men, governed by the same feelings, influenced by the same motives. Can it be supposed that they are insensible to their own interests? They see the injurious effects of the slave system: that the value of their lands is lessened by it, the progress of improvements retarded, the increase of population checked. If the people of Maryland and Virginia, for example,

have common sense and observation, they must see, they have seen, and do see, that their neighbours of Pennsylvania increase in wealth and population in a ratio far greater than theirs. At the first census, the number of inhabitants in Pennsylvania, was little more than one-half that of Virginia: at the last it was nearly equal. The increased value of lands and houses in Pennsylvania, in fifteen years, from 1799 to 1814, exceeded that of Virginia, though her territory is much larger, upwards of \$90,000,000. The lands in the latter state are as fertile as those of the former. No other cause can be assigned for this difference, than the existence in the one of an evil which has been removed from the other. There is, moreover, in each of the slave-holding states just mentioned, nearer and plainer proof of the bad effects of this evil in their institutions. There are counties wherein the slave population nearly equals the white, and others where the number of slaves is inconsiderable. In one county of Maryland, having but few slaves, the increase of population between 1810 and 1820, amounted to many thousands: while in another, where the numbers of slaves and of whites are nearly the same, there was a *decrease of almost a fifth of its whole population*.—Lands of similar quality, bear very different prices in the two districts: for farmers will not migrate to a slave country: and there is the same difference in many other particulars of this nature.

“Nor is it only in reference to the value of property and improvement of their outward circumstances that the inconvenience of the present condition of things is felt and acknowledged. In respect of moral advantages, they have impediments peculiar to this unfortunate state of society. They cannot with the same facility and benefit; have churches, schools, or other institutions for religious and intellectual improvement, such as are found in every neighbourhood amidst the denser population of the northern states. Not only have they no accessions to their numbers by emigration from foreign countries or other states, but, where the slaves are numerous, the young people of the labouring classes, who grow up among them, are unwilling to work in the company of blacks, and feel their own station in society to be degraded. For this reason, such of them as are industrious and enterprising remove to the new settlements of free states, while the idle and

dissolute remain. So that such districts lose their best, and retain their worst population."

Mr. Key proceeds to show, and he shows very clearly, that the morbid sensibility which has existed on this subject, is rapidly diminishing, and that the subject may now be agitated with much greater safety to the one who does so, than formerly: that in fact a great and radical change is going on in public sentiment: that of late years, both Virginia and Maryland have passed resolutions approving of the plan of the Colonization Society, and Maryland has rendered it pecuniary assistance: that the books of the Society present absolute practical proof that their scheme leads to voluntary manumission, and in this way tends to the peaceful termination of an evil, which doubtless all measures of force would only aggravate. He adds,

"And will not this continue to be the case? Will the causes, which produced these effects, suddenly and without any reason cease to operate! If so much has been done, when the objects of the society and the condition of the colony were but partially known; when the difficulties incident to a new enterprise were yet to be overcome: what may not be expected, when this great cause shall be fairly presented with its success apparent, to the patriots, philanthropists and christians of our land? So convinced am I, that this favourable feeling of the masters will continue to be commensurate with any efforts the Society may be enabled to make; that if I were invited by the Legislators of either of the States I have mentioned, to draw a law in favour of emancipation, with the assurance that it would be passed, I would say to them pass no law; we have already, by the voluntary consent of their owners, more slaves offered to us than we can provide for, and a law is wholly unnecessary.

"I know (continued the speaker) that very different impressions, as to the disposition of the people of the South to abolish slavery, have prevailed here. I know it has been confidently asserted and honestly believed, that all the apparently favourable movements in the South, and particularly that which gave rise to the Colonization Society, originated in a mercenary and selfish spirit; that those who formed this association, desired to remove the free people of colour, in order that their slave property might be held more safely and beneficially. There is not the slightest ground for such imputations. The Society and their friends have always declared their hope, that emancipation would

be a result of the success of their scheme. It is true, their operations have been confined to the single object, colonization.— They do nothing directly to effect the manumission of slaves.— They think nothing can be advantageously done in favour of emancipation, but by means of colonization, of which emancipation will be a certain consequence that may be safely and quietly awaited. So little reason is there for such a suspicion, that the Society, while suffering under this reproach in the North, have been continually assailed by some of the most sensitive of their brethren in the South, with accusations of a directly contrary character, with charges of being ‘rash and dangerous abolitionists.’ The middle course of sound and prudent policy, steadily pursued by the Society, can alone account for these erroneous and inconsistent opinions respecting their purpose. Impressions so different cannot long subsist. The Society is daily gaining friends from both classes of these conflicting opponents. In the North, those who believe that emancipation, without removal of the manumitted slaves, never can take place but with danger, begin to acknowledge that colonization may be carried on safely; and that it is better, as something bearing either directly or indirectly on the question of slavery will be done, that the work should be conducted discreetly, the execution of it being entrusted to those who have a common interest with them, and who, from their situation, are enabled to understand the subject, and to judge how it may be safely dealt with.

“There is a portion of our brethren, who have been labouring for many years, with the most benevolent intentions, but, as I conceive, with erroneous views, in the cause of abolition. I ask them, why it is that they have exerted themselves to so little purpose? Is it not because there has been an obstacle in their way, which they have disregarded, but the removal of which was necessary to their success? Do not the proofs that have been laid before you make this apparent? The Colonization Society removes this impediment. It provides on the shores of Africa, a refuge for her outcast children. It opens an outlet for our greatest evil. Does not wisdom then dictate the propriety of, at least, suspending labours that have availed little, in order to unite our efforts to remove the obstruction, which stands in the way of the accomplishment of our wishes?



“In addition to what I have already urged in favour of Colonization, I beg leave to offer one or two further considerations. Let me call your attention to the influence of the Colony in suppressing the slave-trade; that horrid traffic, of which you have heard frequent descriptions, but can scarcely imagine the enormity. All the efforts of Europe and of this country to suppress it, have been unavailing. Officers of European nations, and of our own, who have had experience in the naval service on the African coast, have expressed an unanimous opinion that all the navies of the world would be insufficient to destroy this trade. In fact it is impossible to suppress it but by such means as the American Colony employs: by introducing among the wretched inhabitants of that oppressed continent, the arts of civilization and the principles of Christian benevolence; and by showing them that the rich productions their naturally fine country is capable of yielding, are much better articles of commerce than the bodies of their brethren. The American Colony has already done much in this work. The spot where it is planted was once a slave station, from which every year multitudes of wretched beings were carried to be sold into bondage. Sierra Leone was another such station. A great change has been effected, in a few years. The slave-traders dare not now attempt their abominable traffic within many miles of these settlements. No more from this part of the coast, the slave ship, freighted with human misery, launches forth and pursues her course, with all the monsters of the deep following in her wake to claim their share of prey. Instead of this, we see approaching, the American vessel, laden with cheerful emigrants, returning to the land of their forefathers, bringing with them the blessings of civilization to improve that unhappy continent, and bringing the gospel of peace to dispel the darkness of gross superstition. What American would not feel more pleasure to see the flag of his country giving protection to these messengers of peace and joy, than to behold it waving in triumph over the field of blood? It is thus, we may recompense the wrongs of this injured people; thus, we may atone for the part we have been forced to take in these wrongs.

“To conclude:—Whatever may be thought of the views which I have on this occasion endeavoured to present, the immediate

manumission of two hundred slaves, and their settlement in a country where they may enjoy the rights and the improvement of freemen, cannot be a matter of indifference to you. These are objects according with the desires often expressed by this community. In assisting the society to provide for the colonists now offered to them, you would in part, accomplish the work to which your labours have so long been applied. The society are anxious to despatch an expedition to Africa this season, and are making great efforts to obtain the means. Without further aid from their friends it will be impossible to do it. We ask you to assist us in an enterprise, which we believe to be worthy the regard of every philanthropist, patriot and christian."



### Communication.

"Almost all masters in Virginia assent to the proposition, that when the slaves can be liberated without danger to ourselves, and to their own advantage, it ought to be done."—[*Mr. Harrison of Lynchburg, before the American Colonization Society.*]

And is it possible that this can be true? It must be so.—Coming as it does, from a distinguished man in the heart of that great state, the assertion cannot be doubted. The most eminent leader of our political career, here presents a very remarkable indication, "That she may yet be no less distinguished in the promotion of humane and truly liberal sentiments." Already the wish had almost risen in my heart, and nothing but the attachment which I feel for the institutions of my own State could have hindered it, that, Providence willing, I had been a native of Virginia.

"When the slaves can be liberated without danger to ourselves, and to their own advantage, it ought to be done." By this conquer. And when a precipitate or prejudiced enthusiast, considers it too moderate, and would rashly go beyond it, let him know, that he will be pronounced a traitor to his country. Perhaps the people of the north have judged those of the south too severely. But let the south adopt and vindicate this and its

kindred sentiments, and they will find a vast majority of the north ever ready, to engage with them as brethren, and to honour them, as fellow citizens, and fellow workers in the great cause of freedom and humanity. Let such sentiments become permanent and universal, and they will do more to perfect and perpetuate the union of the States, than the immense influences of roads and canals and commerce put together. The union of souls no outward force can abolish.

Never may this sacred maxim remain a mere epitaph on the grave of philanthropy. It is a part of the very essence of inspiration. Let it be a living and an acting principle. Though at times it may issue from the lips of the dead who feel not its power, while they see and confess its correctness; yet let the language which the very stones cannot but utter and approve, never perish in air, nor fall to the ground ineffectual: but let it be inhaled by every active friend of freedom and humanity; let it fasten on their memories, animate their hearts, rouse their whole souls to effort, and even descend to their posterity as one of the richest bequests that can be made; till it bears its triumphs into every corner of our free country. Thus, and thus only, will it accomplish the salvation of this great and flourishing community.

The Colonization Society, as such, have renounced wholly the name and the characteristics of abolitionists. On this point they have been unjustly and injuriously slandered. They need no such barrier to restrict them, as the sentiment of Mr. Harrison, for their operations are entirely in a different department. Into their accounts the subject of emancipation does not enter at all. To the religious people of the north, from whom in that region they mainly derive their support, they present the almost certain and glorious prospect of redeeming and renovating Africa. On this account, if on no other, they feel themselves bound at least by every consideration of expediency, to render their institution decidedly religious in its aspect and in its character.—The moment that it ceases to be so, its support in the north must fall, and the splendour of its present glory there must vanish.—To the south they present the immediate prospect of delivering them from the dangers and the trouble of their free coloured population. To all they make a direct and powerful appeal, that

rouses the most dormant feelings of humanity in every breast not rendered callous by wrong practice or evil principles, in the prospect of giving the death-blow to the miseries and horrors of the slave-trade, and of raising all Africa to civilization and peace and prosperity. It is by keeping these great and glorious objects in view, that they will render their whole cause the cause of God and humanity, and will find no enemies to encounter, but the enemies of God, and the destroyers of human happiness.

N. E.

## Colonization Society of Virginia.

We have perused with peculiar gratification an account of the proceedings of the Auxiliary Colonization Society of Richmond and Manchester at its Annual Meeting on the 15th instant, and the very encouraging Report presented on that occasion by its Board of Managers. We particularly rejoice in the fact, that this Society has changed its name and character, and is now the *Colonization Society of the State of Virginia*.

The following is its list of Officers for the ensuing year:

John Marshall, *President*.

### *Vice-Presidents.*

James Madison,	Gen. B. G. Baldwin,
James Monroe,	Philip Doddridge,
James Pleasants,	Hugh Nelson,
John Tyler,	Gen. W. H. Broadnax,
Wm. H. Fitzhugh,	William Maxwell,
John F. May,	Dr. Thomas Massie.

Benjamin Brand, *Treasurer*.

William Barret, *Secretary*.

John Rutherford, *Cor. Secretary*.

### *Managers.*

W. H. Fitzwhylson,	David I. Burr,
Robert G. Scott,	James E. Heath,
Hall Neilson,	Nicholas Mills,
John H. Eustace,	James Caskie,
James Blair,	Th's. C. Howard,
William Crane,	Fleming James.

The Hall of the House of Delegates was on this occasion crowded, and many ladies who have recently made liberal efforts and contributions to aid the objects of the Society, evinced by their presence their deep interest in its proceedings. Very able and impressive addresses were made by Flem-

ing James and J. Forbes, Esqs. of Richmond, and Wm. H. Fitzhugh, Esq. of Fairfax, a member of the House of Delegates. The Managers state in their interesting Report, "that the sum of \$818 10, has been contributed by their Association during the year, to the funds of the Parent Society, and that the diffusion of correct information has removed in great measure the prejudices which have existed against its design. "The clouds of suspicion and distrust are rapidly disappearing before the irresistible power of truth and inquiry never probably since the first organization of the Society, have its prospects been brighter or its labours more successful."

After a brief statement of the plan, principles and success of our Institution, the Managers remark:

"In many parts of the country owners of slaves are ready to emancipate them on their being removed hence to Liberia, and several are now preparing in the best manner they can their slaves for this purpose. So that the Society will find no difficulty in procuring emigrants of approved character and to any number. Already about five hundred free blacks and two hundred emancipated slaves are soliciting to be removed. Had the Society ample means to indulge the wishes of these applicants, it would be unwise, in the present condition of the Colony, to send thither more than five hundred in any one year, until the population of the Colony shall exceed two thousand; for, a sudden and too great addition to the present number would be of serious injury to the good government of the Colony, and would probably produce disastrous consequences to the emigrants themselves, arising from the want of accommodation and the necessary supplies.

"Thus at home we have ample materials and demands to engage our resources, and to excite our utmost and constant exertions. Nor is the condition of the Colony less cheering. Its agriculture and commerce is respectable, nay considerable and very profitable. In an infant country, the former is always and naturally the most necessary avocation.—At first the colonists did not succeed so well in their attempts at agriculture, the country and sands on the coast not proving so productive, as their appearance had led the first settlers to expect. By a cession, however, made by the natives to the Colony, of an extensive tract of country on the St. Pauls river, a territory has been acquired, and on which settlements have been formed, where agriculturists have succeeded in the most remarkable manner.

“The soil and climate has been found well adapted to the production of Indian corn, millet, rice, cotton, sugar and coffee, and of sustaining a population of many thousands.

“The commerce of the Colony is considerable and rapidly increasing, as well with the interior as with the United States and foreign countries. The exports are not less than fifty thousand dollars per annum; and those engaged in commercial pursuits, are enterprising, judicious and successful in their adventures.—Some of the colonists have acquired considerable fortunes, by their care and industry—Most of them are independent—*All* can do well, who devote their labour and skill steadily to any regular avocation; while common laborers receive on an average ninety cents per day, and tradesmen two dollars.

“Whatever doubts might have been entertained formerly as to the health of the colonists, recent events have entirely removed. All who have emigrated from Virginia and South of it, have enjoyed good health, and but few deaths have occurred among them. Where the colonists have been removed from higher latitudes, they have been subject to the same diseases, as if their removal had been from a higher to a lower latitude on this continent—and when the total number of deaths among the colonists, shall be compared with those that usually occur among the settlers of any new country, it will be demonstrated that Liberia has been founded with a less loss of human life, than probably any colony in the old or new world. But we cannot stop here with our view of the situation of the Colony.—It is not alone in their commerce—their health or their agriculture, that the emigrants have been peculiarly fortunate—the picture of their political, intellectual and moral condition is still brighter—they have formed a government, at the head of which has been placed one of their own number, Lott Carey, late of the city of Richmond, and well known for his good sense, moral character and inflexible integrity—they have ordained laws, which punish offenders and protect each in his rights of person and of property—they have created a judiciary for expounding these laws and deciding controversies—they have instituted a Legislature for the enactment of new laws, and the repeal or modification of the existing ones, where experience shall show it proper to do so. In short, they have instituted for themselves a civil government, the principles

of which recognize the equal rights of all, which protects each in his person and in his property; which separates the Legislative, Executive and Judicial departments, and assigns to each its appropriate functions; which guarantees to all civil, political and religious freedom, encourages virtue and discourages vice. Such measures have had with the colonists, the same influence, which in all time they have had with other men; to improve and elevate their moral condition, to promote harmony and to advance their prosperity.

“In this work the name of the lamented Ashmun stands pre-eminent, and will be regarded with admiration while this flourishing Colony shall remain a proud monument of his labours.

“The Society has then demonstrated the practicability of colonizing the free black population of the United States, and the happy influence this change will have upon the emigrants. In doing this, it has expended more than sixty thousand dollars, and is prepared to prosecute the undertaking. But has not the Society now a fair claim on Government for that aid, which was originally denied only because the plan was considered chimerical? It has already been asserted, and the assertion is susceptible of clear proof, that the cost of transporting each emigrant is twenty dollars. The annual increase of the free coloured population of the United States, has been variously estimated at from five thousand seven hundred and fifty to seven thousand. Suppose the latter be the true increase; to remove these will require an annual appropriation of one hundred and forty thousand dollars. But for several years to come, one-third of that amount will be more than could be judiciously used, and by its application in thirty years, the total free black population will be removed. Ought such a people as this to hesitate in bestowing this sum, on a work of such a magnitude?—not more than one-fifth of the amount now actually employed by individuals impelled by the most avaricious purposes in transporting into perpetual slavery the inhabitants of ill-fated Africa.”

The example exhibited by the Ladies of Richmond, and to which allusion is made in the subsequent extract, is indeed a cheering one, and we trust will excite benevolent females throughout our whole country to unite their hands and hearts in aid of a work which lays most urgent claim to support

from those in whose bosoms dwell the kindest and the best of sentiments.

“The Managers cannot pass unnoticed an event of the past year, and which they deem a most propitious omen to the future hopes and prospects of the Society. They allude to the formation of Female Societies for contributing to this object. From the efforts of our fair countrywomen we anticipate the happiest effects. In the works of kindness and of charity, their appeals are never made in vain. More earnest and more constant than men; the influence of their sincerity and solicitation, of their opinions and their advice, will be felt and seen in every circle. Of the contribution of this to the Parent Society in this year, one hundred and seventy dollars has been received from the Richmond and Manchester Female Society.”

After mentioning some reasons for reorganizing the Society on the plan of a State Society, the Managers conclude:

“The deep interest which Virginia has in the success of this Society, and the favourable expression of her opinions heretofore on the subject; induce the Managers to recommend that an application should be made to the present General Assembly for further aid. Nor can the Managers doubt of the success of this application, when the objects and views of the Society are properly understood; and when it is recollected, that the laws of Virginia forbid emancipation, but upon condition that the emancipated slave shall remove, except in rare cases. Is it not just then, that the means of removal should be facilitated and afforded? To Virginia an appeal of justice has never been made in vain; and when sustained by philanthropy, humanity and policy, we are not permitted to doubt of success.”

Nothing can be more auspicious, than the establishment of such a Society, in a state which is so deeply interested in our enterprise; which has the honour of being the first to give to it the sanction of its influence; and which has at all times been most prompt to suggest, and firm to maintain plans, founded upon the true principles of national utility, honour and duty.



## Ninth Report

### OF THE VERMONT COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The proceedings of this important and energetic Society, continue to be quite characteristic of the active and enterprising people of Vermont.— They give us a few words, quite to the purpose, and a good deal of money. They were among the earliest friends of our cause, and through evil report and good report, they have manifested toward it the same increasing, unwearied, unwavering attachment. While they, in so substantial a manner, honour the purity of our motives, and the rectitude of our views and proceedings, it is only the payment of an honest debt, that we should honour their zeal and fidelity. In the beginning of their Ninth Report, they pay a fervent and merited tribute to the memory of Mr. Ashmun; a tribute which not only manifests their readiness to sympathize with the bereaved, and to render to all the meed of their merits; but adds to the proof of their zeal in our cause, if indeed any further proof were needed; and evinces an enlightened and intimate acquaintance with events and proceedings relative to our Society and Colony, and an inquisitive scrutiny into our concerns which we are highly gratified to witness. This is just what we ask, and what we desire: while we consider neglect and apathy as our deadliest enemies. Just so far as keen and candid inquiry can be excited, the friends of man, to an individual, will be found the friends and advocates and supporters of our cause and Society. On this point our confidence amounts very nearly to certainty.

The Report proceeds to give a brief and accurate view of the Colony, and of the very promising prospects of the General Society. It mentions the formation of two new Societies, one at Manchester, and the other at Bennington, of which Chief Justice Skinner and Hon. Jonas Galusha are the Presidents, both of whom were Governors of the State. It alludes to the noble bequest, and the efficient testimony in our favour, of the late Mr. Burr; and when speaking of the conditional subscription of Gerrit Smith, Esq. it asks, with an obvious and well grounded confidence in the generosity of their fellow citizens, “if Vermont cannot furnish a few instances of like liberality.” We trust the appeal will not be fruitless: and that those who have been found so faithful in little, in the contribution of smaller sums, will, agreeably to Scripture, be found faithful in much.

We cannot dismiss this brief, but interesting report, without letting it speak for itself.

“It is peculiarly gratifying to be able to state, that the Society’s application to Congress was favorably received in the House of Representatives, and was, by a committee of that honorable body, recommended to the early attention of Congress at the ap-

proaching session. We regret to say, that in the Senate it was otherwise. But at this we are neither surprised nor discouraged. Opposition provokes discussion; and by the collision of such minds as that of Mr. Tazewell, and such others as will meet him in the field of argument, truth will be elicited, and will ultimately triumph. Should the desired aid be long withheld, which we do not believe will be the case, the state legislatures are able, and we trust many of them will be found willing, to supply the deficiency. As yet, however, the Society must chiefly depend for ability to proceed in the great work it has undertaken, on the liberality of its auxiliaries, and the individual donations of the benevolent. And we are concerned to state, that the wants of the Society were never greater than now. The expeditions of last year made great drafts on the treasury, and the calls of the agent at Washington for pecuniary aid, are earnest and importunate. Lest it should be supposed that the legacy of Mr. Burr will supply the immediate wants of the Society, it should be understood that this legacy will not be placed at the disposal of the Society for one or two years, and perhaps a longer term. And we will not for a moment suppose, that the liberality of our lamented friend will be so misimproved, as to induce one friend of the cause to withhold or diminish his aid.—We will rather believe it will stimulate all to persevere in this work of love, and induce many to come forward with enlarged benefactions.

“An expedition should without fail be sent out the present autumn. But the means, we fear, are yet to be provided.—Many emancipated slaves and free coloured people, are anxiously waiting to be gone. The Colony, no doubt, is waiting to receive them. The friends of humanity are waiting to see, in the rapid increase of the population, the improvement, and the resources of the Colony, the rising dawn of African glory, the abolition of the slave-trade, and the extension of freedom and religion over vast regions of darkness and death.

“Africa, meanwhile, bleeding, and writhing in agony, stretches forth her hands, and implores our immediate and vigorous efforts to drive from her coasts those infamous wretches, who are annually dragging hundreds of thousands of her children to encounter the horrors of the middle passage, in which, a large

share of them are barbarously murdered, while those who survive are doomed to perpetual bondage.

"Who, that has humanity in his bosom, will not be impatient to engage with all the means he can command in an enterprise, designed to shut out the pirate from the land where cruelty has so long revelled and rioted on the blood of its slaughtered victims, and to proclaim freedom, and peace, and social joy, and the opened gate of eternal glory, to the sons and daughters of abused Africa.

"The report of the Treasurer, annexed to this, will show what has been received in the course of the past year.\*

"To the generous sympathies of our countrymen, especially those of our beloved commonwealth, and to the patronage of Heaven, we commend the sacred cause in which we have unitely embarked. May its friends increase, and multiply in numbers, and resources, and benevolence, till slavery and all its attendant evils, shall be banished, not from this nation only, but from every nation under heaven."



## **To Christian Ladies.**

In presenting to the Ladies of our country, a few thoughts which may serve to excite and bring more generally into active operation in behalf of our Institution, those benevolent sentiments, which in their bosoms are ever so ready to answer to the calls of charity, we rejoice in the evidences already manifest that our attempt is not hopeless—in the knowledge that not a few females eminent for whatever adorns their sex, are now practically evincing their conviction, that this Institution is based upon the purest principles and effecting the noblest objects.

Some of these, alas! with whom it has been our privilege to be acquainted, have finished their earthly service, and while many are tasting the fruits of their beneficence, are themselves enjoying its rewards amid the brighter light and more exalted minis-

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\* The amount is \$916 31.

trations of the heavenly world. Others, their sisters, in the spirit of Him, who came to redeem the world and preach a better liberty than poets ever sung, we could name; but must not offend the modesty which prefers the approbation of conscience and of God to the loudest acclamations of human applause. But we may be allowed to mention the encouragement which we derive from the honourable *example* exhibited by the Ladies of Richmond, and which (if we mistake not) has already kindled a generous spirit of emulation elsewhere; an example which we venture to predict will exert an influence until our nation is delivered from its most degraded and unfortunate population, and Africa intellectually and morally regenerated.

Few of our enlightened countrywomen, we fear, are aware to what extent, and with what moral power their influence may be exerted. Our own confidence in it is well nigh unbounded.— This, we are convinced, when generally active, and judiciously directed, will effect more for the interests of humanity, and the pious charities of the age, than the ablest arguments and the most commanding eloquence. It is an influence which like the light of Heaven is silent, all-pervading, and irresistible. It changes public sentiment as by miracle, and opposition, if it can live, finds its energies paralyzed in its presence. And who that loves either God or man, will not rejoice that the Females of our own land, are bringing their united influence to advance those objects which unless virtue and religion are shadows, demand the best thoughts and the highest efforts of our nature.

We have no apprehension that Ladies will attempt too much for the various enterprises of Christian benevolence. In associating themselves to promote these enterprises, they but honourably fulfil their appropriate duties, and do not in the least transcend the limits which reason and scripture have prescribed for their efforts. If it is recorded in the sacred volume of one female disciple, that she was “full of good works and alms-deeds which she did,” and of others, that they were “succourers of many,” and “helpers” of the Apostles’ labours, their sisters of the present age surely need not be ashamed to evince a spirit of kindred charity, to feel their hearts engaged, and have their hands employed in similar holy ministrations.

And can any female heart, especially any one which has been

warmed by the heavenly spirit of the gospel, remain indifferent to the claims which our infant Colony, and the people whom it would bless, present for immediate, united, and persevering exertions? Consider the magnitude of the object. We would transfer thousands, within our own borders, from a state of political, intellectual, and moral degradation, to a country which they may call their own; where they must feel the excitements of the noblest motives, occupy stations, and discharge duties to which there are none superior. We would instruct the countless tribes of a long barbarous and wretched continent, in the arts which civilize and the religion which saves our race. We would suppress the slave-trade; that evil which the combined powers of Christendom, after years of effort, have scarce been able to check, and which taken in the whole length and breadth of it, is generally admitted to have no parallel in the annals of human suffering or crime. And in doing this we bless our own country. Patriotism demands the work, no less than Religion. So true is it that our scheme "is a circle of Philanthropy, every segment of which tells and testifies to the beneficence of the whole."

But we mistake, or there have been peculiarities in the miseries of the African race, for two centuries, which appeal irresistibly to the sympathies of the female mind. How have the sacred ties of nature been ruthlessly sundered, the peaceful village and the quiet home violated by those who would tear children from their parents, and bind even a mother's limbs in fetters of iron! The mere recital, of what is now almost daily occurring on the shores of Africa, would be sufficient to pierce every female heart with sorrow, and unite in a holy sisterhood of charity all the Ladies of our country. Of such a union, we see, we think, the commencement, and may predict that the time so much desired by a distinguished female correspondent will soon arrive, "when the sufferings and hopes of Africa, shall mingle with the morning and evening sacrifices in every household."

And let none of our female friends forget, "that to do good and communicate" is an injunction of Scripture, and that "with such sacrifices God is well pleased." Vain are all professions of piety, if Charity to mankind is a stranger to our souls. "He that loveth not his Brother, whose wants and sufferings are ob-

jects of his daily perception, how can he love the invisible God?" O that we may all partake more of his spirit "who went about doing good," and whose aphorism should be engraven upon every heart, "It is more blessed to give than to receive." She who feels and does most for others, is best preparing herself for the society of Angels, who themselves deem it no dishonour, but their glory, to go forth and minister to the heirs of salvation.

### **The great Object Advanced.**

We have already announced the following individuals as subscribers on the plan of Gerrit Smith, Esq.—that is, as agreeing to give, each, \$100 a year to the Society for ten years.

Gerrit Smith, *Peterboro, New York.*

Jasper Corning, *Charleston, South Carolina.*

Theodore Frelinghuysen, *Newark, New Jersey.*

John T. Norton, *Albany, New York.*

E. F. Backus, *New Haven, Connecticut.*

A Gentleman in *Mississippi.*

We have now the pleasure to add to this list

Matthew Carey, *Philadelphia.* (See Mr. Carey's letter in our last.)

Josiah Bissel, *Rochester, New York.*

William Crane, *Richmond, Virginia.*

Fleming James, *ditto.*

Robert Ralston, *Philadelphia.*

Elliot Cresson, *ditto.*

### **Annual Meeting of the Society.**

This will be held on the 17th of January. Auxiliaries are invited to send Delegates to this meeting.

In an acknowledgment of receipts for the American Colonization Society in the Utica Recorder, is the following—

"From the estate of Cyrene Isaacs, late of Genoa, Cayuga

co. deceased, 'who was born a slave, purchased her freedom, and sustained a christian character;' by William Bradley, one of the executors, 50 dollars.

### **Expedition for Liberia.**

Arrangements have been made by the Board of Managers to send a vessel from Norfolk to Liberia, with from 150 to 200 emigrants, during the course of next month.

### **Liberia Coffee.**

We have observed with great pleasure the following advertisement in a Richmond Paper.

"LIBERIA COFFEE.—6000 lbs. Liberia Coffee, shipped by Lott Carey, for sale by OTIS, DUNLOP & CO."

### **African Colonization.**

BY J. G. C. BRAINARD.

All sights are fair to the recover'd blind—  
 All sounds are music to the deaf restor'd—  
 The lame, made whole, leaps like the sporting hind;  
 And the sad, bow'd down sinner, with his load  
 Of shame and sorrow, when he cuts the cord,  
 And drops the pack it bound, is free again  
 In the light yoke and burden of his Lord.  
 Thus, with the birthright of his fellow man,  
 Sees, hears and feels at once the righted African.

'Tis somewhat like the burst from death to life;  
 From the grave's cerements to the robes of Heaven;  
 From sin's dominion, and from passion's strife,  
 To the pure freedom of a soul forgiven!  
 When all the bonds of death and hell are riven,  
 And mortals put on immortality:  
 When fear, and care, and grief away are driven,  
 And Mercy's hand has turn'd the golden key,  
 And Mercy's voice has said, "Rejoice—thy soul is free!"

FROM THE EPISCOPAL WATCHMAN.

**Sonnet.—Burial of Ashmun.**

What desolate mourner rushes to the bier,  
 And stays the solemn rites of that sad hour?  
 O God, sustain her as she draweth near,  
 Support her in the struggles that o'erpower!  
 It is an aged mother that bows down  
 Beside the coffined corpse, amid the crowd,—  
 It is the ashes of her noble son,—  
 His living face unseen for many a year,—  
 Well may she lift her voice and weep aloud!  
 The world cannot console her. God alone  
 Hath power to speak to such a sorrowing one,  
 And take her dreadful load of grief away.  
 To man it is not given, for who can say,  
 In his own single strength, "Thy will be done!"

**Contributions.***To the Am. Col. Society, from 1st to 23d of December, 1828.*

Miss Blackburn, of Charlestown, Va. who has often contributed to this fund, per William Brown, Esq. ....	\$10
Gerrit Smith, Esq. of Peterboro, N. Y. his second annual sub- scription, .....	100
Vasper Corning, Esq. of Charleston, S. C. his 2nd payment on the plan of Gerrit Smith, Esq. ....	100
Hon. Bushrod Washington, of Mount Vernon, his annual sub'n. .	100
Arthur Shaaff, Esq. of Millidgeville, Georgia, ...	10
James Dwight, Esq. of Petersburg, Virginia, .....	5
Colonization Society of Virginia, per Benj. Brand, Esq. Tr. ...	*600
Collection in Presbyterian Church, Cortland Village, after a ser- mon by Rev. Lube Lym, .....	15 37
Wilmington (D.) Union Col. Society, per Allan Thompson, Tr. .	90 38
Collection in the Associate Reformed Church, Newburgh, New York, per D. Farrington, .....	15 75

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*Amount carried forward,* **\$1046 45**

\* Of this sum, the Female Colonization Society of Richmond and Man-  
 chester, contributed by Miss J. R. Shedden, to make Rev. R. C. Moore,  
 Bishop of Virginia, a life member, \$30; and by Miss Amelia Coleman,  
 Treasurer of said Society, to assist in defraying expenses of emigrants from  
 Richmond to Liberia, \$139 75.



	<i>Amount brought forward,</i>	\$1046 45
Chambersburg Colonization Society, Pa. its first annual contribution, per B. A. Fahnestock, Esq. Treasurer, .....	37	
New Jersey Col. Soc. per R. Voorhees, Esq. Treasurer, .....	150	
Hon. Theo. Frelinghuysen, N. J. from following sources, viz:		
Mr. F. Thomas, of Newark, .....	\$10	
Female Juvenile Sewing Society, of ditto, .....	16 40	
Miss Jane A. Philips, of Philadelphia, .....	5	
Ladies of 2nd Church, Newark, .....	20	
		51 40
Collection 4th July last at Salem, Indiana, paid by Dr. B. Bradley, by the hands of Hon. Mr. Hendricks, .....	8 50	
Collections by Auxiliary Society of Alexandria, to aid an expedition this fall, per Charles Page, Esq. Treasurer,		
Collection in St. Paul's Church, ....	\$12 57	
Mrs. Sarah Ladd, .....	1	
Collection in 1st Presbyterian Church, .....	9 72	
Do. 2nd do. do. .	6 09	
Hugh Charles Smith, .....	1	
John Emerson, .....	1	
Frederick Jacob Hirters, .....	2	
William Gregory, .....	5	
H. C. Smith, through others, .....	5	
H. C. Smith, .....	2	
Jane Muir, .....	1	
N. R. Fitzhugh, .....	5	
Robert Jameison, .....	15	
Mr. Walton, .....	5	
Mr. Harmon, .....	1	
Mr. Cheres, .....	2	
		74 38
Rev. Mr. Blodget, of Dawfuskie Island, South Carolina, .....	50	
Auxiliary Society, Berkely Co. Va. per P. O Pendleton, Esq. .	30	
Washington Auxiliary Society, Penn. per Hon. J. Lawrence, ..	50	
Jacob Wagener, Esq. of Easton, Maryland, .....	10	
Collection at Richmond, Massachusetts, per Rev. E. W. Dwight,	8	
Collection at Talmadge, Portage co. (O.) per Hon. E. Whittlesey	16	
Collection at Franklin, do per ditto, ....	5	
Collection in Congregation of Ludlowville, New Jersey, ....	10	
Collected on the 4th of July, in the Pres. Ch. Charlottesville, per		
O. B. Carr, .....	20	
Auxiliary Col. Society of New Hampshire, .....	40	
Right Rev. Bishop Croes, of New Jersey, .....	3	

\$1609 73

THE  
**AFRICAN REPOSITORY,**  
AND  
**COLONIAL JOURNAL.**

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VOL. IV.    **JANUARY, 1829.**    No. 11.

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**Africa.**

**PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY.**

THE same causes which have hindered the civilization, and darkened the history of Africa; continue also to render very imperfect its civil and physical geography. In view of this imperfection, however, it is peculiarly gratifying to know, that it will soon be removed; not by the theories of ingenious or presuming projectors, but by the eyes and energies of enterprising and resolute observers. With regard to our knowledge of the present state of Africa, and what is more, with regard to extending a saving and a civilizing influence over it, *nil est desperandum*, may now be placed high on our standard. The laws and powers of the moral world are assuming an aspect and an energy, that will throw far in the shade the discoveries of Watt and of Newton; and human skill and enterprise are fast hastening to the extreme limits of possibility.

Africa is a vast peninsula, about 5,000 miles in length, and 4,500 in breadth; and its area is computed at 13,430,000 square miles. Its shores are remarkable throughout for their uniformity of outline, for the want of gulfs, bays, harbours and navigable rivers, and for the smallness and fewness of the islands in its vicinity. The gulf of Guinea on the south, and that of Si-

dra in the north, the two principal indentures made by the sea are both of them dangerous to navigators, and besides are separated by a distance of 1,800 miles. All this, while it renders access difficult, is also indicative of a level country. In general the indication proves to be correct. The rays of a vertical sun are not often scattered by the sloping sides of hill or mountain, or tempered by cool and springy valleys beneath; and the winds, burning with heat, or bearing and scattering vast volumes of sand or rain, drive over the continent almost without obstruction.

In its geological character, Africa is chiefly of secondary and alluvial formation, and thus presents a correspondence in this respect with the general evenness of its surface: there being no reservoirs sufficiently capacious for the ruins of these later formations, unless they had been swept from the continent into the ocean. The comparatively flat body of primitive rock remained clad with the newer coats of our globe, except where at distant intervals its protuberant parts were exposed to the rush of the mighty waters, which before they were confined to their present boundaries, and shut up in the dark caverns of the earth, modelled and polished its surface, and prepared it to be inhabited. It is certainly determined, however, that there is at least one basin in the centre of Africa, from which there is no outlet to the ocean. But even this is so remarkable for its shallowness, that the waters on its shores advance and retire to great distances with the change of seasons, and nothing apparently but the influx of great rivers prevents it from being dried up entirely. It is perhaps not improbable that there are other inland seas of a similar character. The accounts of the natives, though they are in the main exceedingly contradictory, and little to be trusted, agree in representing various and extensive marshes in the interior of Africa.

The isthmus of Suez is marked by several singularities. The breadth of the isthmus in a strait line is seventy miles. Its surface generally declines from the shores of the Red Sea to those of the Mediterranean. The level of the Mediterranean is thirty feet lower than that of the gulf of Suez, Besides this leading inclination of the surface there is a particular one in the middle of the isthmus. The deep basin called the Bitter Lakes.

is more than fifty feet lower than the level of the Red Sea, the waters of which would enter and fill it, if they were not prevented by a little sandy isthmus about three feet higher than the level of the sea. The ancient Egyptians, being ignorant of the principles of hydraulics, it is stated, were not without apprehension, that the Arabian gulf would burst its low and feeble boundaries, and by some unknown, but dreadful power, would overwhelm that part of their country which lies below the level of its surface. But as the descent to the Mediterranean is in the main very gradual, being only about six inches in a mile, it is evident that the action of the water could not be very violent, even if it proceeded in a body; and it seems by no means a visionary opinion, that an ample communication, proceeding by a very gentle current, will yet be made between the two seas, and thus a direct passage will be obtained for ships, from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean. All that appears to be wanting to accomplish this grand result, is a Clinton at the head of a free, enlightened and enterprising community.

There is a more general characteristic of Africa, that is well worthy of our attention. It is found, that in some parts where both the soil and the water at the surface are impregnated with salt, fresh water springs up from beneath. A late English traveller remarks, "As far as I can learn, no salt formations exist within the boundaries of the rains." In places where they do exist, "there are many fine fresh springs issuing from the soil, and none of the wells are brakish; when the water, however, remains sometime stagnant, it gets impregnated with saline matter." He suggests, that in producing this salt on the surface, "the air has a powerful effect, and is a principal agent:" as if the air itself might be impregnated with salt, or had the power of manufacturing it! The true explanation of this extraordinary phenomenon, is notwithstanding exceedingly obvious and simple. It is found, as has been remarked, only where rains seldom or never occur. The water then which rises from springs, and which is evaporated from the surface of the ground, must come from a distance, from a rainy country; and its course in the salt districts must be always upward, toward the surface of the earth. Of course, even if there were salt beneath the surface, it would gradually be brought upward to the surface, by

the continual rising of the water; and from the surface evaporation alone could never remove it. We see then in the actual state of things, a constant tendency to the remarkable result in question.

The extensive deserts of Africa present all the indications of having once been the level bed of the ocean. Not only do salt plains, and the reliques of sea animals frequently occur, but trees are often found in a petrified state. It is altogether unphilosophical to suppose for a moment, that such results could be produced, except by miraculous power, or the waters of the sea.—To believe this, however, requires no degree of credulity, since it is a well ascertained geological fact, that the highest secondary mountains present the same indisputable proof, that the waters of our globe formerly enveloped them. Scripture itself adds its testimony; that such was the fact, before “the waters were gathered together.”

The most noted mountain range in Africa, is the Jibbel Kumri, or Mountains of the Moon. It lies on the south of Abyssinia, and stretches off westward through the centre of Africa. Its extent and magnitude are known very imperfectly; though it seems at least altogether probable, from its central position, that it surpasses in both these respects all the other ranges of the continent. The actual view which Major Denham had, of stupendous mountains to the south of Mandara, in the heart of Africa, as well as the coldness of the climate in that region, goes very far to confirm this opinion. From Mandara also a range is represented by the same traveller, as extending very far to the southward. He was told by a “very intelligent” African, who had travelled south of Mandara, that the inhabitants there “were unanimous in declaring these mountains to extend southward for two months’ journey; and in describing them he called them mountains large, large, moon mountains.” To the west of Mandara are the Kong mountains, which range east and west, and are probably a mere continuation of the Abyssinian Mountains of the Moon. Mount Atlas, which lines nearly the whole of the north coast, is a series of five or six small chains, rising one behind another, and including many table lands. It is stated, however, that toward the desert they increase in elevation and terminate in steep and inaccessible peaks. It is cer-

tain that such is the character of others of the African mountains. But in general, agreeably to preceding remarks, they appear to be of calcareous formation, built in terraces; and their rivers, instead of traversing long and deep valleys, descend in a series of cataracts. It is supposed, and the supposition is certainly a very plausible one, that the Atlas of Homer and Virgil, was the Peak of Teneriffe.

Of African rivers, the most of the Nile, the Senegal, the Gambia, and a part of the Niger, are too well known to require a description. It is chiefly the rivers of Central Africa, that are not only known very imperfectly, but in the various accounts respecting them, present such a labyrinth of mysteries, such a series of contradictions, and such a medley of absurdities, that it would seem as if they were possessed of no permanent character, but were changeable like the colours of theameleon, and unlike the cameleon indicating no cause of the diversity. A good many *facts*, however, respecting them, are already established by competent observers. It is certain that a fresh water sea or lake, six or eight hundred miles in circuit, called Tchad, or otherwise Chad, Shad, Chadee, Shadee, Cauga, Cadee or Caudee, lies about 13° north, by 15° east. Into this lake the river Yeou or Yow, empties from the west, which near its mouth is 150 yards across, and its probable source and continued eastern direction, have been ascertained entirely. From the south, by several channels, empties the Shary, Shar or Sharee, running two or three miles an hour, measuring only five or six feet in depth, and more than six hundred yards across. Its general course, though not far ascertained, continues to be from the south.—Kano, which is doubtless the Ghana of the Arabs, and the Cano of Leo Africanus, and which is near the centre of Houssa, instead of being situated on a great river running east or west, lies between the sources of the Yeou, running eastward into the Tchad, and the Quorrana, which runs to the westward. Kano is about 12° north, by 2° east from London.

We now pass from these known premises to the wretched native accounts; and of some of them we shall be able at least to discover the falsity. Though Major Denham did not go quite round the Tchad, it was the unanimous testimony of those who had often done so, that it has no outlet. They agreed, howev-

er, that its waters formerly passed off to the east, and that the dry bed of its stream still remained, though covered with large trees and full of pasture. On this account doubtless it is proper to place no dependence, though the freshness of the lake argues in favour of an outlet. Major Denham himself viewed from the distant southern hills the great basin, of which the lake occupies the centre, and a northern outlet, if any ever existed, appeared to him the most probable. A venerable patriarch shepherd on the east shore of the Tchad, informed him, that from Tchad to Fittre was four days; there was *no water*, and but two wells on the road. "Fittre, he said, was large, but not like the Tchad. His infancy had been passed on its borders. He had often heard the Fittre called the Darfoor water, and Shilluk. A river also came from the south-west which formed lake Fittre; and this and the Nile were one; he *believed* this was also the Shary; but *he knew nothing to the westward.*" Major Denham says, "There is a prevailing report among the Shouaas, that from a mountain, south-east of Waday, called Tama, issues a stream, which flows near Darpoor, (Darfoor,) and forms the river Bahr el Abiad; and that this water is the lake Tchad, which is driven by the eddies and whirlpools of the centre of the lake into subterranean passages; and after a course of many miles under ground, its progress being arrested by rocks of granite, it rises between two hills, and pursues its way eastward." Here we have a very intelligible, and very satisfactory specimen of African fanciful philosophy. But this is not all. Native accounts have agreed, that the river Gambaroo, separated from the Niger near Tombuctoo, and flowed eastward into the lake Tchad; whereas it has been ascertained with certainty, that the Gambaroo is merely a branch or portion of the Yeou, which rises at Kano and flows eastward to the Tchad.— Here then we have ample proof even if we had no other, that the African testimony, with regard to the *identity* of rivers, is not at all to be trusted. By a single freak of the imagination, they can make a single river run all over and under the earth. And they do not hesitate to make them even run up stream, as the Niger was represented by them to run up the Quorrama, and down the Yeou, into the Tchad, by Kano. Major Denham makes evident another source of error. "An intelligent Moor

of Mesurata again told me, this water, (the Yeou,) was the *same* as the Nile; and when I asked him how that could be, when he knew that we had traced it into the Tchad, which was allowed to have no outlet, he replied, 'Yes, but it is nevertheless *Nile water-sweet*.' I had before been asked if the Nile was not in England; and subsequently when my knowledge of Arabic was somewhat improved, I became satisfied that these questions had no reference at all to the Nile of Egypt, but merely meant running water, sweet water, from its rarity highly esteemed by all desert travellers."

We will now proceed with the native testimony, carefully rejecting it, however, when it is plainly rendered worthless; and will pursue a course of analogical reasoning, which has heretofore been too little regarded. They unanimously agree, that a little to the west of Sackatoo, the capital of the vast and powerful kingdom of the Felatahs, which was visited by Captain Clapperton, and which lies about  $6\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  east, by  $13^{\circ}$  north, flows the river Quolla, Quorra, Kowara, Kulla or Wola, which is three or four miles wide, and is universally allowed to be the Niger. It is certain that the Niger does not pass north of Sackatoo.—The natives also unanimously agree, that the Quolla flows eastward toward the Nile; which latter testimony as has been seen, amounts to nothing, but that there is a great river connected with the Quolla, and having the same name, in that direction, flowing either eastward or westward. They also agree, that a branch flows from the Quolla, southward to the sea. Bello, sultan of the Felatahs, a man obviously possessed of extensive information, and of a quick and powerful intellect, informed Captain Clapperton, in a desultory conversation, that the Quolla "entered the Sea at Fundah. Two or three years before, the sea closed up the mouth of the river, and its mouth was then a day or two farther south. I will give the king of England, said he, a place on the coast, to build a town: only I wish a road to be cut to Rakah, *if vessels should not be able to navigate the river*." He said nothing at the time of an arm flowing eastward from the Quolla. Afterward, when it was known, that he had become jealous of the designs of England on his empire, he drew a map of the river, which represented it as flowing eastward to the Nile, and having no outlet to the sea.—



The mere fact of his jealousy throws distrust on his map, and fixes our confidence on the unbiassed testimony which he had given before. By a mere glance at the gulf of Guinea, compared with similar gulfs, on the map of the world, we are irresistibly led to the probable conclusion, that it is the estuary of one or more great rivers. In confirmation of this analogical conclusion, Mr. Bowdich entered the Gaboon, near the equator, ascended it forty-five miles, and there found two branches, one of which was four, and the other two miles wide. Several other rivers at the gulf were of a similar magnitude. We have seen that the native testimony does nothing to show, whether the great eastern branch of the Quolla flows eastward or westward; though its existence cannot at all be doubted. It is then at least a very probable analogical conclusion, that it rises in the country of Dar Koolah or Kulla, a place plainly of the same name with the river, and flowing westward, enters the great river, the Niger, flowing from the north, or runs directly into the gulf of Guinea. Indeed in the map of Malte Brun, the source of a river running westward, is laid down in Dar Koolah, on the authority of Browne, who visited that region of country. "At a distance of three days' journey to the south of Cabbeh, (in Darfoor,) there are copper mines; and seven days' journey and a half beyond these, is the Bahr el Abiad. To the west of this is the river Koolah, (Kulla or Quolla,) the banks of which, according to the information of Mr. Browne, abound with pimento trees." As a proof of the great height of this country compared with Central Africa, it is stated, that the mountains "are frequently covered with snow." A glance at the rivers of the gulfs of Persia, Bengal and Birmah; will give at least a probable general idea of the rivers of the gulf of Guinea. The native testimony that the rivers of Africa in the interior, separate, in their downward course, into two or more branches, has been shown to be false in some instances, and in all good for nothing. At the utmost, there are not more than two examples of this kind known in the world; and the obvious reason is, that rivers in the interior are constantly lowering their beds, and thus diminishing the chance of a division; and even if a division actually existed, there would be a constant and unavoidable tendency to flow in a single direction; whereas near their mouths,

rivers are continually raising their beds, and thus preparing to burst their boundaries, and to pour their waters in any direction.

Mr. Bowdich concluded from native testimony, that an arm of the Quolla passes into the Zaire or Congo: but this, as has been seen, may amount to nothing more, than that a branch of the Quolla and one of the Zaire, have their sources nearly together, and flow in different directions; and analogy shows almost irresistibly, that such is the fact.\*

Africa is distinguished for the richness and fertility of its soil, as well as for the number and magnitude of sterile spots which are found on its surface. The fame of Egypt's productiveness has already filled the world, and accounts fully agree, that other parts of the continent will even vie with Egypt in point of fertility. Indeed it would seem as if nothing had contributed more to lower the character of the African race, than the comparative ease with which life and even luxury may be supported. The abundant resources of Egypt, under a wise and rigid government, were once brought to operate in elevating the character of its inhabitants. But where such a government is wanting, and where there is no sufficient moral influence, and no pressure of necessity, to operate in its stead, resources, in almost exact proportion to their abundance, are wasted in dissipation, and consumed in comparative idleness. The same profuseness of nature, which under judicious management would improve and elevate its possessors, serves only to degrade them, when no controlling influence is exerted over it.

The climate of Africa has generally had the reputation of being unhealthy. But when the number and extent of its marshes, and the habits of the natives are known, this circumstance will appear to be no cause of wonder. When those marshes shall be cleared and cultivated, and the inhabitants shall become civilized and cleanly, it is perhaps not too much to expect, that the world will not furnish a region more salubrious or healthful than Africa.

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\* Some of the views in this article, it will be seen, differ from those expressed in our last July number. On a subject embarrassed with so much uncertainty, it is to be expected that different writers will not always agree; and indeed that the developement of unknown facts, at any time turn the scale of probability. At all events, the exhibition of different opinions, may aid in arriving at the truth.

## COMMUNICATION.

**Mr. Tazewell's Report.**

IN the Report of the Committee of Foreign Relations to the Senate, April 28, 1828, on African Colonization, Mr. Tazewell seems to have entirely and most unaccountably misapprehended the petitions of the American Colonization Society and of their friends in their behalf. For instance, nothing can be more erroneous than his assertion, that the "applicants wish generally, that the United States should exert their power and their means to acquire a territory somewhere on the Coast of Africa, which when acquired, should be opened as an asylum for the reception of free people of colour and liberated slaves." If any advocates of our cause in any part of the United States have recently made such a request, it is more than we are aware of, and must have been done most inadvertently. But as to the Society themselves, it is very certain that by them no such application has, at least for several years, been urged; for a territory on the African Coast has already been obtained and occupied, and a Colony of twelve hundred souls has been successfully established. So far, then, from being under the necessity of soliciting the aid of Congress for the acquisition of territory, the Society have found by experience that that is the least difficult part of our undertaking; and we are at this moment in possession of more land than we can, with our means alone, people for many years to come.

It is to be regretted that this simple but highly important fact should have escaped Mr. Tazewell's observation; for, if he had been acquainted with it, it would not have been necessary for him to waste so much keen argument and so much of his precious time in the discussion of the territorial question; and the whole subject would have escaped from many pages of metaphysical torture.

If, at the very origin of the scheme of Colonization, when those who were wise and virtuous enough to discern its merits, had not yet the means of forming definitive plans for its accomplishment, but were either awaiting the result of experience, and the gradual and natural progress of the suggestion, or were deliberating among themselves how it might be best promoted; if, at that period, there did exist among the friends of our cause a great diversity of opinions, as each may have happened to spring up spontaneously in remote situations; and if, for some time, the public mind did fluctuate among the various courses that were proposed; all uncertainty has long since disappeared from the councils of our well organized Society, and its more distinguished and influential members have ceased to entertain either indefinite or conflicting views. It is thus that every project is by degrees perfected. Whatever may have been the propositions or wishes of many of ourselves in the infancy of our design, as to the proper site for an establishment, the proper measures for acquiring territory, and

the proper way to found, maintain and govern the Colony, there may be said to be, at present, but one persuasion, on those topics, among the fathers and leaders of the cause. Mr. Jefferson, the enlightened and earliest advocate of colonization, at first suggested that some part of our continent might be selected for a Colony: but that idea was soon abandoned and is now almost forgotten; and Mr. Jefferson became one of the zealous supporters of the settlement in Africa. So, when the idea of colonizing our free coloured population had been only recently conceived, and no place had been chosen for their new abode, it was proposed that the requisite territory should be procured by the United States, as this was a matter of national concern: but the Society, when afterwards formed, determined to purchase the territory themselves, and did purchase it without the assistance or privity of Government. Thus, another of the early and perhaps crude, or at least impracticable, designs of those who had embraced the scheme, was abandoned. The position being fixed upon, a settlement effected, and the Colony prosperous, the question very naturally and indeed unavoidably arose, how this new nation should be governed and protected. No one, we believe, was ever so extravagant as to suppose that it might be or ought to be incorporated into this confederacy. Mr. Tazewell's remarks upon that subject are entirely gratuitous. But some persons did imagine that, although it could not be adopted as a co-equal state, it would be necessary for its defence that it should be held as a territory or Colony, until, having learnt from our institutions to be free and happy, and being old and strong enough for self-preservation, it might be endowed with independence; an imperishable monument to the American name, on the shores of injured Africa. This was no wild nor ordinary thought, and, if carried into execution, would be both honourable and useful to our country. We cannot agree with Mr. Tazewell that the acquisition, permanent occupation and government of such a territory, for purposes so national, nay so necessary, would be repugnant to the constitution, any more than would an establishment in the Rocky Mountains or a garrison at Oregon. No man will, after a moment's reflection, suppose that the countries beyond the sandy prairies in the west and north, and at the mouth of Columbia river, can ever become members of this Union; for they are scarcely less distant than the coast of Africa, and are separated from us by a breadth of continent, which it requires more time and expense to traverse than to cross the ocean. Yet what American statesman of any eminence has denied the right of the United States to claim, possess and occupy those regions? If any have denied it, the objection has been over-ruled by a contrary practice.

The power of acquiring territory is an incident to that of negotiating treaties, regulating commerce and declaring war, and is limited only to those occasions when it may be necessary for "the common defence," or conducive to "the general welfare." Indeed, any measure that should not have those great objects in view, would be contrary to the spirit of our in-

stitutions; and every proposition, no matter how consistent with the letter of the Constitution, is and must be advocated also on those broad grounds. The words "common defence and general welfare" thus become an important ingredient in our national policy, and, although conferring, of themselves, no powers, encompass and sanction all that are conceded directly or incidentally. It is in this sense, as we understand their arguments, that those who have reasoned in favour of African Colonization, have appealed to that phrase: not, as Mr. Tazewell imagines, to deduce from it the power of acquiring and maintaining distant territories; but to justify, by the innumerable advantages to our country of that scheme, the exercise by Congress of powers inferred from other clauses. In order that Congress should wield, for the acquisition and support of colonies or territories, the authority justly implied in the power of declaring war, making treaties or regulating commerce, it is not sufficient that such authority appear to be manifestly and indubitably contained in the grant of those powers; but it is also necessary that the particular act in question be for the "common defence" or "general welfare." For those great primary purposes all authority is granted and the Constitution itself exists. They vindicate and limit all the powers entrusted by the people to their rulers.—They constitute the only limitation to the power of declaring war, and making treaties.\* In a maritime war it might become necessary for the United States to seize upon and hold an island in the Mediterranean; and in doing so they would be obeying the Constitution. It might be necessary to land and possess themselves of a part of the coast of Africa, or of this continent in the southern hemisphere or in the Pacific Ocean; and doing so would be to obey the Constitution. How long these places should be retained would depend upon the circumstances of the case, interpreted by Congress; for the Constitution is silent on that subject. Whether they should be occupied for only a few weeks, or for many years, or permanently, would be for Congress to determine, with a view to the "common defence and general welfare." The same or similar places might become, from peculiar circumstances, necessary to us in time of peace, and might therefore be acquired by the treaty-making power, provided the President and Senate should deem it for the "common defence and general welfare."

We cannot conceive how these plain inferences can be denied. There is no clause, no word of the Constitution, that specifies any particular or exclusive purposes for which territory may be acquired, or that prohibits the acquisition of distant and foreign territory any more than of domestic

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\* That of regulating commerce is restricted by various additional provisions.

"But all duties, imposts and excises, shall be uniform throughout the United States."—[SEC. 8, ART. I. CON.

"No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state."  
[ART. I. SEC. 9.

or contiguous. For the great purposes for which the power was created, a foreign and distant territory might, in a particular posture of affairs, be essential to our security or peace, and a tract of country adjacent to us be utterly useless. In such a case the distinction would be worse than absurd. The Constitution has wisely left it to the discretion of Congress, and to the course of things. We shall not undertake to explain how and when it may become necessary to exercise that power for the acquisition of foreign and very distant regions, nor where those regions will be situated; for, although we think we understand the nature of our institutions, we do not pretend to prophesy: but to show that this, as we have given it, is the true theory of the Constitution, it is only necessary to recite it.—None of us may foretell how soon we shall be called upon to put it into practice.

The President and Senate having the power of making treaties for the acquisition of territory, whether contiguous or remote, whether on this continent or on another, and whether separated from us by oceans of water or oceans of sand, we may suppose that a juncture might arise in which the "common defence and general welfare" would require them to make a treaty, stipulating the payment of a sum of money for the territory to be acquired. This gentle mode of acquisition would be as much within their constitutional powers, as a more forcible one; and, indeed, more congenial to our peaceful institutions. If a treaty may be made with the Winnebagoes, it may be made with the Foulahs or Mandingoes. There is no restriction, whatsoever, (we repeat it,) but that imposed upon the discretion and honesty of the Executive and Senate, that they enter into such transactions, not for any sinister or private or frivolous purpose, but for the "common defence and general welfare" of their constituents.

The appropriation of monies under the treaty-making power, however, is rather indirect than immediate; and though it would sufficiently answer our present object, of demonstrating that a territory in Africa might have been constitutionally procured and held by the General Government, we will proceed to consider those direct and more common appropriations, which have no treaty-stipulations in view. In Article I. Sec. 8, of the Constitution, we find this comprehensive clause: "The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises." This at once places at their discretion all the power of the purse, and, if it were the only clause in the Constitution, would enable them to dispose of the public monies in any manner their caprice might prompt, even for their own individual emolument. But they are strictly limited by clauses that follow. There are certain duties which they *must* fulfil, and there are other acts which they are directly or indirectly forbidden to perform. Among the former, to which they *must* appropriate the funds entrusted to them, are "regulating commerce," "establishing post-offices and post-roads," "promoting the progress of the arts and sciences," &c. "constituting and supporting the judiciary," "providing and maintaining armies and navies and

all the materials of war," "organizing and arming the militia," "giving a compensation to the President and other public officers," &c. &c. &c.—These acts, being enjoined by the Constitution, they *must* perform; to neglect any of them, when requisite and practicable, would be an infraction of that instrument. On the other hand, there are things which they *must not* do. For instance, Congress were not allowed to prohibit the introduction of negroes into the United States before 1808, but might lay a tax of \$10 a head upon such as should be imported. Not only to have prohibited their introduction, before that period, or to have imposed a higher duty on them, but also to have made any appropriation of the public monies, by which, directly or indirectly, their introduction might have been stopped or interrupted, would have been unconstitutional; for the public funds, entrusted to Congress by the Constitution, are not to be used in violation or embarrassment of the Constitution.

There is a third class of acts, which Congress are neither expressly nor by implication commanded to do nor prohibited from doing; which seems to be left to their discretion, with the multitude of things which *may* become necessary but cannot be foreseen nor indicated, and which time alone, in its incessant flight, reveals. Such was the present to General Lafayette. Such are appropriations for internal improvements. Neither of those expenditures can be justified but on the ground, that the public revenue is entrusted to Congress, to be applied to certain enumerated purposes, and to such others, not repugnant to the Constitution nor inconsistent with the rights of states, as they may deem for the "common defence" or "general welfare." Upon the same grounds and with equal reason, may a portion of that revenue be devoted, by those to whose honesty and judgment it is committed, to the purchase of a territory in Africa and the establishment there of a Colony.

It would have been most unwise and unavailing in the founders of our government, to have pretended to enumerate and define all the supposable objects to which our redundant means should in future years be directed. Such an attempt could only have crippled our resources, and led us back into the same embarrassments, confusion and ultimate dissolution, with which we were afflicted or threatened by the old articles of confederation. The framers of that immortal monument of wisdom, our present Constitution, contented themselves with indicating certain primary purposes for which it was intended, and with laying down a few leading principles, sufficient, when properly examined and faithfully obeyed, to give it full developement and impose due limitation; and, fortunately, left the rest to time and Providence. It appears to us that nothing can be more evident, than that, in confiding the national revenue to Congress, the Constitution designs to make them the judges, within certain bounds, to what objects it shall be applied. It can, with propriety, be applied only to those purposes that are consistent with the Constitution, not repugnant to state rights, and conducive to the "general welfare," or "common defense;"

and for a judicious exercise of this discretion, members of Congress are answerable to their constituents. Even the most jealous form of government must repose confidence at last in some one; and if that person be responsible to an enlightened people, as are those of the United States, government has attained its utmost security. The abuse of such a trust can be provided against, only by the original selection of proper representatives, or by the expulsion of those that fail in their duty. Both of these privileges have been reserved to the people by the Constitution; and upon their own good sense and patriotism must the people rely, to guard against violations of that Constitution by its legitimate expounders or those who are its necessary instruments.

If therefore it can be shown, to the satisfaction of the people and their representatives, that the scheme of African Colonization would be eminently conducive to the prosperity, peace, safety, and general welfare of our country; and that no state rights would be interfered with, nor any express or implied provision of the Constitution violated, by an application of some of the public funds to that purpose, Congress will be entirely at liberty to appropriate any sum which they may deem reasonable or sufficient.

It was not necessary for us to discuss the questions of territorial acquisition and colonial establishments by the United States; for, notwithstanding Mr. Tazewell's long argument, they have no relation to the views of our Society. That this is true with reference to the acquisition of territory has been already shown, by the fact of a suitable and sufficiently extensive territory having been long ago procured at the expense of the Society.—Nor, with regard to the colonial government, is it by any means necessary that it should be assumed and its continuance guaranteed by the United States. On the contrary, the prevailing sentiment among the leading friends of the undertaking, is, we are inclined to think, that the Colony remain under the direction of the Society and of its own laws, until it arrive at the proper crisis for entire independence; and that it have no connection with the friendship or enmities, war or peace, treaties or alliances, of this country. It will thus more certainly escape the vicissitudes to which such a connection would expose it. A place of free resort for the vessels of all nations, and an institution of a purely benevolent character, it may reasonably hope to be exempt, for many a year, from the troubles of general politics and the disasters of European or American wars. The only conflict which it may expect, will be with the piratical slave-vessels on the coast, and now and then with some petty tribe of the interior; against both of whom it is able already to protect itself. Thus it will be, in a political point of view, totally distinct from us; but in language, in customs, in institutions, in religion, it will be similar; and, though independent, bound to us by all the ties of interest and gratitude.

Such is the consummation at which we devoutly aim. The only assistance which we desire from the United States is *pecuniary*; with such ad-



ditional good offices as their cruisers may properly afford, in their endeavours to suppress the slave-trade. All that we ask is an appropriation of money; and we confidently claim it for a purpose in every way conducive to the "common defence and general welfare."

In making such an application, it may be justly demanded of us to explain the particular objects for which the money will be used, and give some estimate of the amount that will be required. To that duty we now proceed. And we will, at the outset, remark, with due respect for his high character and deference to his talents, that in no part of his subject has Mr. Tazewell more egregiously shot beyond his mark, than this. We humbly venture to think, that on a question of such influence and importance, recommended to the attention of the Legislature by many of our most distinguished citizens, it would have been more candid and statesman-like, to have contemplated its bearings and pretensions, if not in a favourable light, at least in that in which alone they are rational, than to have taken sides, like a pleader in the forum, not a Senator in the Capitol, and laboured to ruin the project, by pushing it to extremes with which it has no affinity. If it have defects, let them be fearlessly exposed: but if it have merits also, let them too be acknowledged. We will presume to oppose our calculations to Mr. Tazewell's.

The objects to which any monies derived from government would be appropriated, are the extension and improvement of the Colony of Liberia, and the transportation thither of such free coloured persons as might be willing to go, and of such slaves as their masters might liberate for that purpose. The attention of the Society has been chiefly directed to the *free people of colour*, because they furnish more numerous applicants for removal, and afford the best subjects for a wholesome establishment; being generally better educated and more enlightened than the slaves. At every expedition to the coast, more of that class of persons have been eager to embark, than the Society had the means of gratifying, although in nearly every instance a most rigid and judicious selection has been made.

From *free* coloured people, in various parts of the union, but principally south of the Susquehanna and Potomac, there are, at this moment, 500 applications for a passage to the Colony. Last year upwards of *four hundred* were conveyed thither, generally excellent subjects. Its population is now more than *twelve hundred*.

In the present state of the Society's funds, exhausted by previous efforts, and not yet sufficiently restored, it will be impossible for us, we fear, to afford the means of emigration to more than half the actual applicants. The number of applications has gone on increasing from year to year; and we feel justified in the belief, that it will continue to augment most rapidly, if it be encouraged. It has been ascertained that in one year about *six thousand* free coloured persons emigrated to Hayti, a large part of them at their own expense. This reveals an inclination in that class of people to emigrate. In another year the number would have been greater: but un-

fortunately, they found that their condition was not improved by settling among an ignorant and semi-barbarous people, speaking a different language, of a different religion, intolerant, and having very limited notions indeed of the "rights of man;" and as many of them as could escape, returned. There are political reasons of great weight, why we should not desire to see the power of a nation of blacks in our neighbourhood increased, nor much intercourse established between us. It was not from any partiality for Hayti in particular, that the free blacks emigrated; but from a disposition to leave this country, provided they could go to some other where they might enjoy all the privileges and advantages of freemen.—Such is Liberia.

We will now proceed to show, that the object which the Society propose to accomplish, can be readily attained without burthening the resources of the Union. The probable number of free coloured persons in the United States, is 280,000; and their annual increase, about 7,000. The cost of transporting such persons to Liberia has been ascertained to be about \$28 for every adult, and \$14 for children under twelve. We will put it, respectively, at \$30 and \$15, that we may not underrate it. Mr. Tazewell estimates it at \$100, for persons of every age: but he has not told us where he obtained his information. According to our calculation, which we assert to be correct, (and for which we refer to the statement of expenditures in the Navy Department, recently laid before Congress,) to transport 280,000 persons, at \$30 each, would cost \$7,400,000; and to transport the annual increase, 7,000 persons, at the same rate, would cost \$210,000. But who, except Mr. Tazewell, has been ingenious enough to suggest the transportation, at once, of the whole mass of the free coloured population of this country? Such a design would be even much less expensive, than it would be absurd and impracticable. No such scheme was ever proposed, and therefore it need not have been combated. Although the idea has been, not only plausibly but reasonably, entertained of transporting in every year the whole annual increase, yet it is very certain that, even under favourable circumstances, the Colony will not be capable, for several years, of receiving and providing for even such an addition to its population. Gentlemen spoke of what might or ought (and no doubt will) be, at some future day; not of what should or could be done immediately. Thus there is no danger, for the present, that even the \$210,000 annually will be called for; much less the \$7,000,000. And yet where is the man of sense or liberality, that would refuse those \$7,000,000, if they could in one year remove that dreadful nuisance, our free coloured population?

The progress of emigration must, as we have said before, be gradual.—It is in its nature to be slow, and it cannot be driven beyond a certain voluntary and accelerating motion. No doubt, it will acquire an increased momentum at every revolution. For this slowness there are various reasons. One of them is, that by being surcharged with crude emigrants, the Colony would be destroyed: another, that the free coloured people, being un-

der no compulsion, could not be persuaded, all of them, to set out at once and without delay. These are the retarding causes. The accelerating causes will be, that as the Colony shall each year expand, it will become, like all newly peopled countries, in a geometrical ratio, more and more capable of receiving greater numbers; and that when many shall have emigrated hence, more will be prepared and willing to follow them. If, therefore, the emigration must unavoidably be gradual, the appropriation may also be gradual.

Thus, several years must elapse before the Society can desire to transport even the annual increase of our free coloured population. Perhaps the Colony may not, the first year, receive more than 1,000 emigrants; the second year, not more than 2,000; the third, not more than 3,000; and so on, until the whole number be embraced. If this anticipation be correct, (and we believe it to be so,) not more than \$30,000 would be required, the first year, for the mere transportation of free coloured persons to Africa; not more than 60,000, the second year; and not more than 90,000, the third. Indeed, it is probable that not even the number of persons we have named would emigrate in those three or four years. But, nevertheless, the appropriation ought not to be diminished; for a large portion of it should be annually applied to the local improvement of the Colony, and to the adaptation of it to those purposes for which it is intended.

Although the sum necessary to transport 7,000 persons be \$210,000, yet we believe that to effect that object, no greater appropriation will ever be required, in any one year, than \$100,000. For, we must recollect that of those 7,000, one fourth at least are children, who can be conveyed at half price; and that there are also many persons, incapable from age or ill health, of adding to our species, and many others, totally unfit, from character or bodily infirmities, to become members of a young and vigorous establishment, who would be either excluded, if bad, or, if unfortunate, admitted only at their own expense. From Dr. Halley's tables of births and mortality at the various stages of life, it may be ascertained that, if the annual increase of the free coloured population be 7,000, the number of persons in those 7,000 between the ages of 20 and 30, will be about 1100 or 1200. These would be the persons most desirable to remove, as they constitute the principal source of multiplication. To remove them at \$30 each, would cost about \$36,000. It would be impossible, however, in practice, to confine gratuitous emigration to them alone, for many reasons; and therefore this sum is too small: but to some extent it might be effected; and we mention it merely as one of the ingredients of a system of great economy.

We must also make large allowances for the operation of moral causes, so much more powerful than the physical, upon those who are to be removed. There is implanted in the human breast, whether black or white, an active desire of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness;" and, if the free coloured people conceive that their condition will be improved by

emigration, it is unnatural to suppose that they will not emigrate. The Society will assume the task of enlightening them on that subject. We see that many have emigrated, and that many others would follow, if it were in their power; persons, too, distinguished above most of their class for information and acuteness. The conviction that it is for their own greater good and for the happiness of their posterity, is rapidly stealing over the whole free coloured population. Let any of them be once animated by an irresistible inclination to emigrate, founded on the experience of those who have gone before, and on the assurance that they are to be immensely benefited, and they will soon create resources for their own transportation. Many of them already possess the means of defraying their expenses; others would know how to derive them from private benevolence; and others would, no doubt, receive assistance from individual states.

To produce the entire benefit which we anticipate to this country and to themselves, it will be necessary to remove not only the wholesome part of the annual increase, but also, at the same time, a portion of the general mass itself. This would be effected by the aid of Congress and by the causes to which we have alluded; and would only require that a somewhat greater number should be transported, than might be absolutely necessary to keep down the permanent annual increase. In the first year, not more, as we have already said, than 1,000 may be removed; and in the second year, not more than 2,000; but in the third, there may be 5,000; in the fourth, 10,000; in the fifth, 20,000. If the experiment succeed, such will be the result, or such at least, the tendency. We must not and shall not be discouraged at the slow developement of the plan. Precipitation would produce the most ruinous effects: and we are convinced that one of the most admirable features of our scheme, in relation to its practicability as well as its expediency, consists in its dependance upon a gradual, voluntary, natural, and almost imperceptible fulfilment. When we contemplate the stream of emigrants that has poured, and is still pouring, into our country, from the nations of Europe, bearing upon its surface men of every condition, but chiefly of the poorest and, as one should imagine, least able to remove, we cannot but be deeply impressed with the belief, that, when the channel shall be properly opened to Liberia, and the motives to which we have referred shall have begun to have their natural and unavoidable consequence, the torrent of emigration will be more powerful than that from Europe; in proportion as the pressure of circumstances is heavier here, and the inducements and facilities of departure greater.

The calculations of expense made with reference to the free blacks, are equally applicable to slaves. We shall proceed to apply them. We do so the more particularly, as Mr. Taxewell's calculation seems to have been meant for a caricature of our project. If not designed to ridicule us, it is certainly a much less skilful and correct delineation of our views, than we had a right to expect from so able a hand. As we have been so greatly

no other answer need be given to Mr. Tazewell's fears.\*—That the United States should, under the pretext of colonization, assume over the coloured population of the Union, a power reserved to the respective states alone; intrude within the boundaries of those states, to withdraw from thence the coloured population, whether slave or free: and finally arrogate to themselves the right of determining, not only who are free and bond, but even who are coloured, to the manifest danger, we might add, to the whites themselves, of being ultimately involved in compulsory emigration: these, we candidly confess, are usurpations too monstrous to find a place in our narrow imagination.

As we intended, therefore, to appropriate a part of any monies which we may receive from the United States, to the transportation, not only of such free people of colour as are willing to emigrate, but also of such slaves as their masters may liberate for that purpose, it will be proper for us to give some estimate of the sum that will probably be required. Mr. Tazewell sets it down (page 13) at \$195,000,000 for the transportation of the whole slave population, and \$5,700,000 for that of their annual increase; without counting some \$500,000,000 more that will be required for their purchase: and he gives the Senate to understand (at the top of page 14,) that these sums are to be collected and paid immediately, and the entire coloured population to be removed at once without further delay. Such a demand on the part of the Society, although urged by Chief Justice Marshall and many other wise and learned men, would be little less than insane, under actual circumstances; and might well astonish and intimidate even a more prodigal and richer government than our own. But fortunately it is entirely a false alarm of Mr. Tazewell's, who has again misunderstood us.

None of us have ever imagined that the whole slave population of the Union, any more than the free coloured, might be or ought to be suddenly removed; nor even that the annual increase of either could, for several, perhaps many, years to come, be drained from our soil. There are various obstacles to such an achievement, almost as great as the want of money, and which amount to physical impossibilities. They consist in the unprepared condition of the Colony, and the danger of crowding such inhabitants into it too rapidly. The operation must be gradual, and at first very slow: afterwards it will regulate itself. Perhaps not more than five hundred slaves will be offered in this or in the ensuing year; and, if more were offered, the Society might perhaps not choose to convey them to the Colony: what then should we want with \$195,000,000?

The same considerations might prevail in the selection of *slave* emigrants, as of *free* emigrants. Of the 45,000, the annual increase of the slaves, only about 8,000 are between the ages of 20 and 30; and although the benefits of emigration could not be confined to that class, yet they might be extended more to them than to the rest. This would essentially diminish the

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\* See page 11 of the Report.

mass itself, and remove in a great measure, or at least retard and weaken, the means of further increase. Also, a larger proportion of young females than of young men, might be selected. Various other expedients might be devised for diminishing the number necessary to be transported, and thereby diminishing the expense. The old and infirm might as well die in this country as in Africa; and the very young might as well remain here to take their chance, until a certain age, of living or dying. We mention these suggestions, not as the plan of the Society, but as thoughts occurring to ourselves. In offering a master the means of removing his slaves to Africa, the Society would undoubtedly have a right to refuse to remove, at their expense, such as he might be supposed to liberate, in order to rid himself of the burthen of maintaining them; and also in purchasing slaves, for the purpose of giving them their freedom in Liberia, the Society would have an undeniable right to purchase only such as they should prefer.— This will illustrate our meaning.

Mr. Tazewell calculates the expense of transportation at \$100 for each person; we have shown that it is only \$30, at the utmost. This reduces his \$5,700,000 for the conveyance of the 57,000 to 1,710,000. Then we must make allowance for the humanity of individuals, themselves, providing for the transportation of their slaves; for the omission of such as are unsuitable; and for the continually augmenting ability of the Society, derived from state and private charity, to furnish the means of emigration to a great number. There yet remains, besides, a most important consideration. It is, that when intercourse with the colony shall become more frequent, it will be proportionably cheaper. The first emigrants cost \$100; those of the present day, \$28; in a few years the price would be reduced to \$10. We see at how slight an expense people find their way from Europe to this country.

Of the *purchase* of slaves it will be time to speak when there shall be no masters willing to manumit them gratuitously.

But suppose that we do require \$1,710,000 annually for the transportation of the increase of slaves: what are \$1,710,000 a year to such a nation as this, when public security and the happiness of our descendants are to be purchased by them? There is no probability that that sum, nor that half of it, will be required, for many years yet, if at all: but even if it should be required, every year, for an hundred successive years, the object to be effected by it would amply justify the expenditure.

The slave population increases, in most of the States, much faster than the white. In Georgia, between 1810 and 1820, the increase of the latter was less than thirty per cent; that of the former, more than forty-two. In the same period, in South Carolina, the blacks increased above twenty-eight per cent. the whites only nine; and in North Carolina, the blacks twenty-six, and the whites twelve. The whole number of slaves in the United States is now about 1,852,126, and their annual increase about 45,174.\* In the

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\*Mr. Tazewell estimates them erroneously at 1,900,000, and 57,000.

year 1840, they will be respectively 2,430,149 and 59,272: in 1867, 4,860,299; in 1894, 9,720,596; in 1921, 19,441,192: thus rolling on, doubling every twenty-seven years, until it vastly exceed the entire present population, black and white, of our country. If the world continue to exist, and the human race to be multiplied on the same principles as now, no one can foresee to what a fearful height this inundation may not rise, what frightful ravages it may not commit, and what permanent changes it may not leave, like convulsions in the natural world, upon the face of American society.—Every man who has the welfare of his race at heart, must confess that this prospect is appalling, and that it will be wise to do something to avert the danger. If his efforts should have no other object or result but to keep down the increase, or abate its alarming speed, he will be entitled to the gratitude and admiration of all posterity. Compared with such a design, \$1,700,000 are as a cent. If the United States do not provide the means, it will be the interest and policy of each State to do so for herself, and to make such regulations (which States alone can make) as will deliver her citizens, and their children's children from the awful consequences. We entertain no doubt that many States will resort to such measures. All that we can do, is to remove such slaves as may be gratuitously manumitted by their masters, or bought by us, for that purpose; and it is to effect those objects, that we call upon our government to aid us.

If, by any appropriation of money whatsoever, the annual increase of slaves can be arrested or at least retarded, it will be wise to make that appropriation, be it ever so great. It should be applied to the purchase and transportation of such as might be voluntarily sold by their masters; and to the transportation of such as might become free under the laws of any State. In this there could, surely, be no infringement of state rights. By thus repressing the too rapid increase of blacks, the white population would be enabled to reach and soon overtop them. The consequence would be security; and if any state should then desire it, she might the more readily accomplish the entire extirpation of the evil. If she should not choose to do so, she might refuse: it is idle to suggest or apprehend compulsion. But if the blacks be suffered to accumulate as they have done and are doing, the time must arrive when the slave-holding States will present the appearance of a handful of whites in the midst of a multitude of slaves, who will have become indomitable from their numbers, and from the same cause worthless.

Mr. Tazewell has estimated the sum which we shall require, at \$195,000,000. He cannot seriously pretend to think that we shall want the whole sum in any one year. Then it will be distributed among many years. Apportioned among an hundred years, it will be about \$2,000,000 every year: among one hundred and ninety-five, \$1,000,000. We have never supposed that the Society's plan could be accomplished in a few years; but, on the contrary, have boasted that it will demand a century for its fulfilment. What is a century, what are three centuries, in the existence of a nation? They are like years in the life of man. We are not labouring

and living for ourselves alone: our ancestors lived and laboured for us, and we must live and labour for our posterity. When our fathers plunged into the war of the Revolution, where would have been their triumphs, where our freedom, strength and happiness, if they had stopt to calculate the cost? What they expended, for us as well as for themselves, we have done our part in paying: and when we undertake this great system of amelioration or defence, let our posterity, who will derive the chief benefits, assume a due proportion of the burthen. If it had been adopted at the Independence, it would now be in the fruit-bearing season and drawing to maturity. If it had been commenced a century and an half ago, it would now be complete; perhaps mere matter of history. But if it never be begun, it can never be concluded. Let us therefore lead the way, and earn the applause of centuries to come. Our resources are in the vigour of manhood. Our treasury is full. In a few years the national debt will have been paid off, and ten millions of dollars disengaged to be appropriated to other purposes. Can we not spare a small portion of that sum for such an experiment as this!

Besides the benefits to be derived from this scheme to ourselves at home, it has numerous incidental and accompanying advantages, upon which we have not now room to dwell. Experience has demonstrated that the slave-trade, which all concur in wishing to suppress, cannot be destroyed without making establishments on land, along the coast. From such establishments, the slavers would be overawed, and their marts commanded, and the deluded natives be taught a better traffic, or compelled to refrain from the worse. By such establishments they might be gradually reclaimed from all barbarity, and the blessings of Christian civilization be substituted for their senseless idolatry. As these establishments should grow into nations, they would afford an immense and ever extending market for the products of our soil and industry, and furnish incessant occupation for our commerce; more than compensating us, perhaps, for all expenditures.

The experiment is not difficult, nor will it be onerously expensive. All that remains to be tested is, whether the free blacks will emigrate in sufficient numbers, and whether many masters will liberate their slaves for the purpose of sending them to Africa. A home is already provided for them there, where they will be as free as we are here, and where they will be among people of their own religion, language, customs, and colour. Twenty years will suffice for the experiment. If it succeed, how much is gained! If it fail, nothing is lost but a pittance from our coffers.

The expense can be ascertained by a very simple computation. Let Government grant the Society, each year, a sum sufficient for the transportation of as many applicants as may offer during the year. This year, for instance, as there are six hundred, the appropriation, at \$30 for each person, would amount to \$15,000: to which add \$10,000 or \$15,000 for incidental expenses, and the progressive improvement of the place intended for their reception. It must be remarked that, as the Colony shall expand and become more populous, this additional appropriation, small as it now is, will



diminish, and the necessity for it gradually disappear. Of the disbursement of the whole sum the society might be required to render a strict annual account. Next year, if there should be 1000 applicants, \$50,000, with a proper addition, for purposes alluded to above, might be appropriated. So the appropriations might continue to be made, from year to year, as long as Government should deem them for the general good. Augmenting and contracting with the object to which they were applied, they would themselves constitute the most unerring measure by which to judge of their utility.— Thus, if they should increase, it would indicate that they were producing an equivalent advantage: and, if emigration should proceed more slowly, so much of the public monies would be saved. Therefore, the appropriation can never outstrip or surpass its benefits. Indeed, it would not increase in the same rapid proportion; for, should the scheme grow popular, and the tide of emigration swell, the expense, as we have shown, would diminish; and thus, although double the effect that now favours our project, might be produced ten years hence, it would be produced by an equal, perhaps a smaller amount of money. The apprehensions, then, that, as the plan goes on, larger and larger sums must be drawn from the treasury, until at length they leave it empty, appear to be groundless; and Mr. Tazewell's millions shrink into a few thousands. There is not a more intimate association between the temperature of the atmosphere and the fluctuations of the thermometer, than between these principles and our cause.

If, for a paltry saving, the rulers of our country allow this design to die or languish without a trial, they will deserve to be quoted, in all aftertimes, as the most short-sighted men to whom the destinies of a nation ever had the misfortune to be entrusted.

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We publish in our present number another very interesting and able article, on the subject of Mr. Tazewell's Report. For this we have reasons to render, in addition to the extent and importance of the subject, which not only warrant, but demand its insertion. We wish the public generally to understand, that we are not so alarmed at Mr. Tazewell's statements and estimates, as to let them pass in silence, lest peradventure they should be found to be correct. We have no such fear. It is true, that for the time, the hope of obtaining a grant from Congress was defeated, yet we see, and we rejoice to see, that in the main scope of his arguments, aiming, as they do, at the general ruin of our cause, he is blowing against the wind. In the busy Senate chamber, the more immediate sphere of his influence, where there was time to *commit* the subject, but not to *consider* it, he might be able to check or change the current, at least for the time; but abroad

it still moves onward, the disturbance from this source amounting scarcely to a ripple; and so, we trust, it will move onward forever. We speak not merely of the known and certain merits of our undertaking; of its entire and easy practicability, in itself considered; of its unlimited fund of beneficence; of the sound principles of wisdom by which it is supported; but we say that our country, even though Mr. Tazewell does not stand quite alone, our country is prepared to receive and to accomplish it. In proof of this we can say, that in the other and more numerous branch of our National Legislature, a report was made and accepted, which was directly the reverse of Mr. Tazewell's.— In Congress, then, there is an equipoise relative to the interests of our cause, and weights are constantly accumulating to turn the scales in our favour. But the constituents of Congress, it may be said without the least shadow of doubt or of arrogance, even a vast majority of the great and good of our country are for us; and are so fixed in their sentiments, that nothing but the most inexcusable supineness, or criminal apathy, can prevent our cause from becoming triumphant. In the meanwhile there is nothing that can justly excite enmity; and we are not without the hope, that even the captious and the selfish, merely from motives of personal interest, will ere long become our well wishers, though we can expect little benefit from their activity.

But not only do we wish to manifest our entire fearlessness, and even our desire, of thorough, minute, and candid inquiry, but we are anxious to do what we can in promoting such an inquiry, especially with regard to those topics, around which an attempt has been made to throw distrust, by an authorized committee of Congress. We have not the least apprehension, that this attempt will alienate the minds of any of our friends who have taken clear and candid views of the subject. Our only fear is, that it may hinder inquiry, where it has not yet been made; and that the unfounded opinions of an individual may be adopted without examination as the true description of reality. We desire then, we entreat, that all would duly examine the subject for themselves; and inasmuch as we have by far the greatest weight of talent and influence in our favour, that they would not rest their faith on this hostile and *ex parte* authority.

### **Ann. Meeting of the Colonization Society.**

The Twelfth Annual Meeting of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour in the United States, was held at the City Hall, in Washington, on Saturday the 17th of January. Though the evening was rainy and unpleasant, the meeting was quite respectable, and was honoured with the presence of many of the most distinguished men of our country; among whom were Chief Justice Marshall, the Secretary of State, and many eminent Members from both Houses of Congress.

At seven o'clock Judge Washington took the Chair, and the Secretary, Mr. Gurley, read the names of the Delegates from various Auxiliary Societies. He then read the Report: and tho' from the numerous interesting events of the past year it was necessarily rather longer than usual, it was heard with profound attention, and deep interest, which were more manifest toward the close than near the commencement. The Report developed very clearly the state, progress and prospects of the Colony and Society. It appears, that though the hand of Providence has inflicted great bereavements, yet no year has transpired that has been on the whole so auspicious to the interests and prospects of our cause. The Colony has been greatly blessed, and in its very aspect it stands a conspicuous and unanswerable argument to prove the wisdom as well as the benevolence of the scheme on which it has been sustained and established. When its opposers require an absolute demonstration of its beneficial tendency, expediency and practicability, we point in silence to Africa.

In this country too, events have been no less animating and auspicious. The sound of opposition has been sinking to a whisper: the spontaneous and persuasive tones of the female voice, are beginning to be heard in our behalf: an increased interest, and a decisive conviction, in favour of Colonization, has gone forth throughout the Union: the hand of beneficence is obviously opening to supply the means which have heretofore been so scanty, although productive of almost miraculous results: and Virginia and Kentucky have risen in their might, and have at

once taken their stand among the very foremost of our advocates and supporters. These states possessing as great an influence as any in the country, and having a common interest with all the people of the south, the most glorious results may be expected from the bright example which they have so freely and so nobly exhibited. At least the shadows of mere suspicion must rapidly flee before it.

The meeting was closed by a series of suitable resolutions, and by interesting and able addresses from some of those who moved them, and from other gentlemen who attended the meeting. There was obviously a very great unanimity of sentiment and feeling, and the proceedings of the evening were not disturbed by a single dissenting voice.

Reserving a further account of the meeting for a future number, we close with the animating remark, that the cause of colonization is triumphant over every thing but neglect and apathy.

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### Gen. Lafayette.

In a letter now before us, dated "Lagrange, November 29th, 1828," this venerable and beloved man observes, "I am delighted to hear that the accounts from our so very interesting Liberia, are so satisfactory. The honour I have received in being elected an Officer of the Society, no one could more highly value. Be pleased to present my respects and sympathies to our fellow members when you meet them. I have received the greater part of the Journals, but would like to have a complete collection from the origin of the Institution, to the end of the year."

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### Expedition to Liberia.

We mentioned in our last number, that the ship *Harriet*, lying at Norfolk, was chartered by the Society to convey emigrants to the Colony. About two hundred are expected to embark in her, and she will probably sail next week.

## Colonization Society and the Ladies.

We rejoice that our fair countrywomen, who have ever evinced the most laudable spirit whenever appealed to in behalf of humane, benevolent, or pious institutions, begin to express a deep and active interest in the great and promising enterprise of the American Colonization Society. We have long believed that it was only necessary to bring this scheme, attractive and imposing as it is, distinctly before them, to excite their best feelings, and secure their noblest exertions to advance it—to kindle within their bosoms a holy and resolute enthusiasm not to be extinguished—not to die away, which should soften down opposition, and outlive censure, prove admirable in its influences, and illustrious in its deeds. They have not waited for our explanations, our arguments, and our appeal, but have already commenced (unostentatiously, to be sure, but efficiently we know,) their kind and generous operations. Urged by the spontaneous sentiments of their hearts, they have established several Auxiliary Associations, which have contributed with no ordinary liberality to the funds of the Parent Institution. Other Female Societies are to be organized, and various expedients (which the charity of Christians is ever so prompt to suggest) are to be devised to augment the funds which are so imperiously required for our object. We bid them God speed in all their gentle and blessed charities, but especially would we cheer them onward in *this* heavenly work. Ours is not the gift of prophecy; yet, we venture to predict, that the voice of future ages will speak their praise, and the people of two Continents render to them the homage of thankful hearts. Regarding the approbation and efforts of the ladies for the Colonization Society as meriting all possible encouragement, the Board of Managers of the Parent Institution, on the 12th instant, unanimously adopted the following resolution,

*“Resolved, That this Board view with special interest the disposition evinced by the Ladies, in several cities to promote the interests of this Society, and that they earnestly recommend to their female friends, throughout the Union, to establish Auxiliary Societies, and to aid in the collection of funds by such other methods as their wisdom and charity may suggest.”*

## State Society of Kentucky.

FRANKFORT, *Tuesday Evening, Dec. 20th, 1828.*—A number of gentlemen met at the Senate chamber, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety and expediency of forming a State Society, auxiliary to the American Colonization Society at Washington City.

Mr. TUNSTALL QUARLES, was appointed Chairman, and Mr. JAMES STONESTREET, Secretary.

Mr. JOHN POPE, the Rev. BENJAMIN O. PEERS, agent of the American Colonization Society, and Doctor LOUIS MARSHALL addressed the meeting, showing the origin, objects and prospects of the Society, and the propriety of forming an auxiliary Society.

Mr. POPE moved the following resolution: which was adopted.

*Resolved*, That in the opinion of this meeting, the objects of the American Colonization Society are such, as must be approved by humanity and enlightened patriotism, that its scheme is one calculated to relieve the citizens of this Commonwealth, from the serious inconveniences resulting from the existence among them, of a rapidly increasing number of free persons of colour, who are not subject to the restraints of slavery; and that for these reasons it is desirable that an auxiliary State Society be formed in Kentucky, to co-operate with the Parent Society at Washington; and that a committee of five be now appointed to draft a constitution, which shall be submitted to a general meeting to be held at the Methodist meeting house, in this town, on Friday the ninth day of January next, at 3 o'clock, P. M.

Messrs. JOHN POPE, DANIEL MATES, ADAM BEATTY, JAMES W. DENNY and SAMUEL DAVIERS, were appointed a committee pursuant to said resolution.

On motion of Mr. BEATTY,

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of this meeting be requested to cause to be published in the several newspapers, printed in the town of Frankfort, a copy of the proceedings of this meeting.

T. QUARLES, *Chairman.*

Att. J. STONESTREET, *Secretary.*

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## Errata.

In the list of contributions, page 320, instead of "Jacob Wagener, Esq. of Easton, Maryland," read *Jacob Waggoner, Esq. of Easton, Pennsylvania.*

## Contributions

*To the A. C. Society, from 29th Dec. 1828, to Jan. 21, 1829.*

By Rev. Samuel Gutelius, Hanover, Pa. per Hon. A. King, ...	\$10
By Rev. Nicholas Patterson, per the General Agent, .....	3
Mrs. Lucy Minor, of Fredericksburg, Va. as follows, viz.	
Contributed by a Juvenile Society at Edgewood, Hanover Co'ty.	
Virginia, .....	\$10
Ditto by a similar So'y. at St. Martins' Parish, Han'r. Co. Va.	10— 20
A Christmas offering, from a warm friend in Hagestown, Md. ...	10
Asa Hammond, Esq. of Claiborne, Alabama, .....	1
W. Frye, Esq. of ditto, .....	5
G. W. Dillingham, of Clinton, Jones County, Georgia, to constitute himself a member for 18 years, .....	18
Miss Francina Cheston, of West River, Md. per F. S. Key, Esq.	600
A few friends in Lynchburg, Va. being the sum required by the	
Rev. Jos. Turner and family, for a passage to the Colony at Liberia, .....	90
From a gentleman of Washington, a loan from him, .....	800
Rev. William Hawley, collected by him in the Episcopal Church, at Troy, New York, .....	50
Mrs. Brewster of Pa. per C. C. Harper, Esq. ....	5
Rev. J. J. Robertson, formerly of Baltimore, .....	4
Dr. Alex. Somerville, of Essex Co. Va. per Hon. C. F. Mercer,	14
Wm. E. Beckwith, Esq. of Fairfax County, Va. per ditto, .....	15*
Auxiliary Society, Berkely County, Va. per Mr. Pendleton, ....	30
Ditto, Ann Arundell Co. Md. per A. Randall, Esq. .	48 3/4
Ditto, Liberty Town, Fred. Co. Md. per R. Potts, Esq.	82
Ladies' Auxiliary Society, Georgetown, D. C. their first donation, per Mrs. Southern, Treasurer, .....	37 75
Collections at sundry times, by Rev. Messrs. Emory and Waugh,	
by the hands of Mr. James Connell, .....	51 23
Collections by Rev. William Jackson, of Alex. as follows:	
Mr. Entwistle, .....	\$3
Mr. Cowing, .....	\$1
Mrs. Magruder, ... ..	1
A friend, ... ..	3
Mrs. Henderson, .....	2
William Jackson, .....	2— 12
Collection by Presbyterian Congregation, at New Lisbon, Columbus, Ohio, per Hon. Mr. Sloane, .....	
	4 10
Collection by ditto at Middlebury, Va. per Rev. Dr. Williamson,	3 81
Some person unknown, deposited in Bank to credit of the Treasurer, on the 2d August, 1828, .....	
	18 52
	<u>\$1,932 93</u>

\* \$6 of this for the Repository.

THE  
**AFRICAN REPOSITORY,**  
AND  
**COLONIAL JOURNAL.**

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**VOL. IV.      MARCH, 1829.      No. 12.**

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**Africa.**

**CIVIL GEOGRAPHY.**

It is one of the greatest and most useful achievements of human intellect, to seize upon those complex and extensive subjects, which to a common or uneducated mind, present nothing but confusion and incomprehensible diversity; and by means of analysis, comparison, and deduction, to reduce them to simplicity, order, and uniformity, so that the weakest may say, all this is plain and easy; so that the great ingenuity of the man, may even deprive himself of the credit of any ingenuity. It would, however, be a visionary hope, that such a result could be attained with regard to African Civil Geography. So numerous, so diversified, and so buried in oblivion, are the causes which have led to the present civil state of Africa, and so blended together and confounded, are the innumerable civil characteristics of that continent, that scarcely any thing satisfactory can be expected, except minute and particular details, which would not be at all consistent with the brevity of this article. The subject, in its very aspect, is about as comprehensible by the savage African, as by the consummate philosopher.

Africa, as it respects its civil character, may be divided into two great portions, of which the separating boundary, though somewhat fluctuating, lies at present, near the line of the Seneg-



gal, Niger, and Mountains of the Moon. The Northern portion, by the incursions of the Turks, Moors, and Saracens, has been visited and overspread by a species of civilization, obscured, disgraced, and deformed, by numerous traits of more than savage barbarity. The Southern portion, though cursed with much of the influence of these marauders, is still in the possession and power of the Aborigines of the country; and the name of Kerdies is applied to them by their Northern persecutors; a name which is at once outlawed, hated, and despised. The hard hearted Mussulman, drawing from heaven the sanction of his horrible cruelties, *piously* hunts them in their villages and native wilds, and without mercy or distinction destroys them, or drags them into the miseries of oppression, and perpetual servitude. Fortunately, the profession of Islamism, saves them from the disgrace of slavery, though not from the hand of the destroyer. As followers of Mahomet, they may not be enslaved, but they may still be oppressed and subdued, and like domestic dogs, be compelled to hunt and destroy their kindred and their countrymen.

Many of the Southern nations have improved deplorably on these examples of their oppressors. Where they have embraced the Mahometan faith, the same tenets justify them, and urge them forward in the same ferocious and merciless treatment of their countrymen. Frequently uniting these tenets in a horrid alliance with ambition, avarice and revenge, and instigated by the more enlightened and cunning Northern traders, for the special purpose of maintaining the commerce in slaves, they wage war on the slightest pretences; betray their peaceful and unsuspecting neighbours into servitude; visit their defenceless huts with rapine and violence; doom their subjects and fellow-citizens, for the slightest offences, and often on suspicion, to perpetual exile, and foreign bondage; and a great portion of these numberless victims, ensnared by every device of savage ingenuity, after having endured the indignities of their situation, and the bitter parting from the endearments of home, are destined to perish, famished and exhausted, on the sands of the desert; to end an existence, protracted in misery, in the crowded and pestilential prisons of the slave ship, or in saving a rapacious crew from starvation, to be buried alive in a watery grave.

Their bones, when not covered by the winds, are formed into pavements for caravans, around the watering places, and along the way,\* or strewn unseen, on the bed of the Ocean.

The name of Moors, which is used in Europe, but not in Africa, is applied chiefly to the inhabitants of the States of Barbary. These are not a single race, but derive their origin from various sources. They are a mixture of the ancient Mauritanians, and Numidians; the Vandals from the North, the Saracens and Turks from the East, and the Brebers, the oldest inhabitants, who were driven back, like the ancient Britons, and now occupy the interior and mountainous parts of the country. These races, however, are so assimilated, by the mouldings of despotic power, and religious intolerance, that they can now be hardly distinguished.

In Barbary, Jews also are found in great numbers, a distinct race, and indeed, the farthest possible from an amalgamation with the other inhabitants. They are an outcast class, hated, despised, and derided, and subject to insult and persecution, with impunity. But the immense profits of trade, induce them to submit with patience to these indignities.

The inhabitable, or rather the almost uninhabitable portions of the vast space between the States of Barbary, and the productive regions of Central Africa, are occupied by the Arabs. This name is doubtless applied, not only to the descendants of those who originally came from Arabia, but to all who lead the same rude and migratory life. They dwell in moveable villages, consisting of tents, arranged in circles, like the huts of the Hot-tentots, and in the intermediate space, supplying their cattle with a place of security. When the means of support are exhausted, they depart for a spot where their wants can be supplied. They are governed by Sheiks and Emirs, pay homage and tribute to the Moorish sovereigns when they must, but seize upon every opportunity to act for themselves, and to indulge to the full, their predatory propensities. They consist of several races, of different names, as the Errifi, the Shelluhs, the Shouaas, the Tibboos, the Tuarics; but they doubtless have a

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\* A single watering place, says Major Denham, was in some cases, surrounded by more than a hundred human skeletons.

common origin, and they use different dialects of the same language. They are all bigoted Mussulmans. They are much addicted to pilfering, and in the use of fire-arms, excel all the other inhabitants of Africa.

The inhabitants of Egypt are chiefly foreigners. The Copts are the only people that derive their origin from the Egyptians, of remote antiquity, and even they, are the descendants of a confused mixture with the Persian, Grecian, Roman, and Arabian races. They dwell chiefly in upper Egypt; their numbers are small, and they are very far inferior to their ancestors. Abyssinia appears to have been peopled from Arabia, having many characteristics corresponding to those of the Jews and Arabians. Its remote parts, however, are inhabited by the primitive African race, some of whom, are still of the lowest order of savages.

In the middle countries of Africa, as might be expected, there is a mixture of the Southern Aborigines, with the various races from the North. They are ruled chiefly by Moorish Mahometan chiefs; but in some cases, the negro race appear occasionally to resume the ascendancy. Of this, Tombuctoo is said to present an instance.

Further South, Africa is filled with a population almost entirely native. Among the tribes of that part of the continent, a few profess the Mahometan faith, rendered worse, if possible, by a mixture of their own superstitions. The austere habits of a Mussulman is, however, mostly avoided. The native races are generally much devoted to pleasure, and their character is marked by carelessness and levity. "From sunset, all Africa dances." Polygamy is practised in the extreme, the number of women appropriated to an individual, being sometimes three or four thousand. But it is not attended with the same jealous seclusion which exists in most Mahometan countries. The idleness of the Turkish harems is unknown; and on the women are devolved in general, the most laborious employments. On the Southern extremity of the continent, the complexion of the population is brown, or copper-coloured; but they are no less, on that account, in a state of extreme barbarity.

The religion of the Northern half of Africa, as has been already developed, is almost entirely Mahometan. The general charac-

ter of this religion, is too well known to require a description. In Africa, it assumes its worst aspect, and fully exhibits the extreme of its cruelties. One that is not a Mussulman, usually finds himself an outlaw without a remedy; and death or bondage is continually before him. Paradise being the reward offered for deeds of cruelty, there are multitudes who are eager, in this way, to procure it. A kind of corrupt christianity prevails in Abyssinia; and relics of the Catholic faith and practice, exist in Congo, and a few other places visited by the Portuguese. The Southern natives generally are distinguished for their superstitions, above all other people in the world. Respecting the creation of man, they hold to different opinions. Some believe that he was formed by an enormous spider; others that he emerged from caves and holes in the earth. Some believe in the transmigration of souls; others in future rewards and punishments, graduated according to their own absurd notions of religious duty, received either in a hell of oblivion, or a heaven of sensuality. Death is regarded with horror. The existence of ghosts is generally credited, and the spirits of those whose crimes are unexpiated, are supposed, after death, to wander on earth.

A species of superstition called fetishism, is almost universal. Any thing that strikes the imagination of the negro, as possessed of some occult, supernatural influence, becomes his fetish, or the idol of his worship. Thus the anchor of a wrecked ship was cast on shore. An African broke a piece from it, and happened to die the same evening. It was supposed that he was the victim of its vengeance, for committing violence upon it; and the anchor was of course, afterwards worshipped as a god. The ignorant and superstitious African, adores, and consults in his difficulties, a tree, a rock, a stick of wood, a fish bone, a bit of paper, or a blade of grass, just as his fancy happens to ascribe, to either of these or other objects, a secret power over his destinies. Serpents, and lizards, and leopards, and crocodiles, are the objects of solemn public worship; and the various rites connected with this stupid devotion, are usually a mixture of folly, lewdness, and cruelty. Africans usually carry their fetishes about them, and expect assistance and protection from them, on all occasions. The virtue of a fetish is always determined by the success of its possessor. If one fetish proves insufficient to effect

the object proposed, another is selected, and another, until the right one is procured. Thus in consequence of a combined series of experiments, the delusion is never detected. Whenever the owner of a fetish performs an improper action, he carefully conceals his fetish, so that its knowledge of his guilt may not lead to punishment. The people of Benin consider the shadow of a man to be a fetish, that has a real existence, and will give an account of all his actions. Fetishes whose influence are supposed to extend over particular districts, are remarkable mountains, rocks, trees, lakes, and rivers. The fetishes most valued, are scraps of paper or parchment, with something written upon them by the Moors or Arabs, and sold by them to the poor and deluded negroes, at an extravagant price. These in general can be procured only by the chiefs of the people, who are often literally loaded with these talismans of security; and as in war they usually follow in the rear, an efficiency is ascribed to their paper gods, which is owing wholly to their customs or their cowardice.

"These superstitions," says Malte Brun, "were merely ridiculous. Vengeance and brutality, however, gave birth to others of a horrible and atrocious nature. The prisoners of war from an adjoining tribe, were sacrificed on the tombs of those against whom they had fought. Believing in the necessary connexion between moral powers and visible objects, these barbarians were persuaded, that by devouring the bodies of their enemies, they became imbued with the courage of the deceased. Cannibalism arising from the rites of the hideous altar, and at first limited to these rites, was soon converted into a capricious taste—a demand of luxurious appetite." They in many places suppose that death is always the effect of poison or enchantment; and the supposed author of the mischief, is immediately sold as a slave. In Ashantee, three or four thousand victims are often sacrificed at the death of one of the principal people, in order that in the other world, he may have a respectable suit of attendants.

While describing the disgusting and the horrible, which prevail so very extensively in Africa, it will not be considered amiss to notice the tribe of *Giagas*, which is supposed by some, still to exist somewhere in the interior. They were a horde of wandering marauders, and were properly considered, entirely as out-

laws, even in Africa. They kept up their numbers by volunteers, and by children stolen at the proper age, to be educated in all their atrocities. Their own children, to avoid necessary trouble, were destroyed. They lived entirely by robbery, and devoured the still palpitating hearts of their victims, in order to increase their courage and ferocity. Many tribes, however, particularly on the Western coast, are represented by Gelberry and others, as docile, amiable and happy. Though superstitious, they are not strongly attached to their superstitions, and would readily be converted to the doctrines of the Christian faith.—The ascendancy which has been obtained over them by the disciples of Mahomet, proves the facility with which Christianity might be promulgated among their tribes.

Their judicial trials consist chiefly of some species of ordeal, among which, may be numbered, the use of fire and hot water, and the drinking of a decoction of various kinds of barks and herbs, by which, at least, the fate, if not the guilt of the individual is decided. It is supposed that those who prepare and administer the mixture, are well acquainted beforehand, with the ensuing result. Those convicted in this or any other way, even of the smallest theft, are doomed at least, to hopeless slavery.

The arts are still in their infancy. In the vicinity of the Colony of Liberia, however, the natives manufacture cotton cloths, leather and iron, and in other regions, the art of casting gold ornaments and vessels, is practised with much skill and ingenuity. In others, a rude blacksmith is regarded as a superior being; the plough is generally unknown; the palaces of kings are the huts of savages, often adorned with human skulls, and even with human heads, fresh and bloody, which constitute also the pavements in and about them; and the productions of foreign skill are viewed with all the feelings of admiration and astonishment.

The governments of Africa, both in their form and mode of administration, are exceedingly diverse, and greatly changeable. Military despotism, however, in its various forms, spreads its dark and bloody wings, over almost the whole of Africa. In the Mahometan states, a long reign and peaceful death, rarely occurs. In other places, also, the tenure of power is exceedingly precarious.

Commerce is carried on to a very considerable extent, though there is very little facility in the means of conveyance. The camel is very properly called, the ship of the African deserts. Commerce is almost wholly internal. The traders are usually formed into large companies, called caravans, varying in number, from two or three hundred, to two thousand. From Cairo, three caravans go into the interior of Africa, one to Sennaar, the other to Darfur. These two travel only once in two or three years. The other to Mourzouk, is the largest, and generally performs an annual journey. It is the medium of communication between Cairo and all the countries of interior and western Africa. From Fezzan, two great caravans go to the South, one to Bornou, and the other to Cashna. The last and greatest caravan, is that from Morocco, by the way of Acca or Tatta, to Tombuctoo.

The exports from Africa, are mostly the unwrought productions of nature. Slaves are, and ever have been, the principal articles, and do more than any thing else, to keep in existence, the commerce of Africa.

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## **Twelfth Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society.**

THE Twelfth Annual Meeting of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour on the Coast of Africa, was held on Saturday evening the 17th Jan. at the City Hall in Washington. Though the weather was quite unpleasant, the assembly was numerous and respectable, and was honoured with the presence of many of the most distinguished men of our country, among whom were Chief Justice MARSHALL, the Secretary of State, and many Members from both Houses of Congress.

At seven o'clock, the President of the Society, Judge WASHINGTON, took the Chair, and the names of the following Delegates from Auxiliary Societies were read by the Secretary:

*From the State Society of Virginia.*

Chief Justice MARSHALL,  
The Hon. JOHN TYLER,  
The Hon. C. F. MERCER.

*From the State Society of Vermont.*

The Hon. H. SEYMOUR,

The Hon. BENJAMIN SWIFT.

*From the State Society of New Hampshire.*

The Hon. SAMUEL BELL.

*From the Society of Lexington, Ky.*

The Hon. Judge CLARKE.

*From the Society of Ann Arundel County, Md.*

ALEXANDER RANDALL, Esq.

THOS. S. ALEXANDER, Esq.

*From the Society of Fredericksburg, Va.*

The Hon. JOHN L. MARYE.

*From the Society of Petersburg, Va.*

The Hon. Mr. ARCHER.

*From the Society at Preston, Trumbull County, Ohio.*

The Hon. Mr. WHITTLESEY, President.

*From the Society at Snowhill, Md.*

The Hon. Mr. WILSON.

*From the Society of Crawford County, Pennsylvania.*

The Hon. STEPHEN BARLOW.

*From the Society at Pittsburg, Penn.*

The Hon. WILLIAM MARKS,

The Hon. JOHN L. KERR.

*From the Society of Albemarle County, Va.*

The Hon. Mr. RIVES.

*From the Society in Alexandria, D. C.*

GEORGE JOHNSON, Esq.

WM. GREGORY, Esq.

*From the Society in Georgetown, D. C.*

JOEL CRUTTENDEN, Esq. President,

R. DUNLOP, Esq.

GIDEON DAVIS, Esq.

*From the Society in Cincinnati, Ohio.*

The Hon. JACOB BURNET.

*From the Society in Wilmington, Delaware.*

The Hon. KENSEY JOHNS.

The Secretary then read the Report of the Board of Managers on the affairs of the Society for the past year, the progress of the Colony, its condition and prospects.



The Hon. C. F. MERCER offered the following resolution:

*Resolved.* That the thanks of this Society be presented to the President and Board of Managers, for their able and successful exertions during the year, and for the report laid before this meeting, and that they be requested to print the same.

Mr. MERCER addressed the meeting, and after congratulating the President and Board on the return of the present anniversary under auspices so cheering, adverted, by way of contrast, to the earlier periods of the society, and especially, to that, when its plan was first submitted, by a resolution, asking the co-operation of the general government, to the patronage of the Legislature of Virginia. He remembered, he said, the various objections which it encountered in that body, and particularly from the speech of a gentleman, now distinguished in the councils of this nation, who, notwithstanding that he voted for the resolution, contended, that Africa was a mere sand barren; that the climate was pestilential; and that the idea of founding there, an asylum for emancipated slaves, was chimerical; that every emigrant who was transported thither, would cost, for his transportation, at least \$200; and that the sum required to plant a colony, would exhaust the resources of the greatest empire in the world. The scheme, at that day, met with but lukewarm friends or open enemies, in almost every direction. What a different spectacle now salutes the view of the patriot and the philanthropist.—The Society had already, a Colony in Africa, which, in the short space of five years from its actual commencement, had attained a strength and extent such as the first settlements of Virginia did not reach in the fourth of a century. Yet it had been planted by the efforts of a private Society, without the direct aid of any Government, and had succeeded in despite of persecution, (if the opposition of hostile sentiments could be so denominated.) It had rested, for its support, mainly on the exertions of individual zeal and benevolence: under the blessing, indeed, of that superintending Providence from which all good councils and all just thoughts proceed. From this point in its history, the friends of the Society might look back with an honest pride, and forward with the highest anticipations of complete success.—Their efforts had already received the sanction of nine of the states of this Union, and the day was fast approaching when its advocates would have no farther opposition to subdue—when but one opinion would prevail, as to the motives and the objects of the enterprise: when the slave-holder and the abolitionist would consider this Society as a middle ground, where they might unite in sentiment and action—when our Southern brethren would become convinced, said Mr. M. that the Society sought nothing more anxiously than the peace and prosperity of the slave-holding states. The time is not, we may trust, very remote, when there will exist not a district, a city or a village in our country, where the success of the American Colony of Liberia will not be hailed with joy. A place was long sought for in vain, to which the free coloured population of the United States might be trans-

ported with safety to others, and advantage to themselves: at length, such a spot has been found, where every advantage seemed to be concentrated, which the most enlightened friend of the African race could have desired. Here, that race is in every form a curse, and if the system, so long contended for by the uncompromising abolitionist could prevail, its effect would be to spread discord and devastation from one end of the Union to the other. The evil though begun in the South, would be staid by the North. But if the interests of the North and of the South, the feelings and views of the East and of the West can be united in a well-matured system of colonization, not only may the threatening prospect of future danger be avoided, but the evils, now felt and complained of, be greatly mitigated, if not wholly removed. Here Mr M. adverted to the situation of his native state, and the condition of the free black population existing there, whom he described as a horde of miserable people—the objects of universal suspicion; subsisting by plunder; and then took occasion to refer to the condition of the same class of population in the City of Philadelphia. After complimenting that city as the pride and ornament of our country, and referring to her deserved fame, as well for the excellence of her police, as for the benevolence of her early founders, which still continued, he said, to distinguish their descendants; he added, that he had some time ago availed himself of an opportunity of devoting two days in that city to the investigation of the condition of its coloured population. One of them was a Sabbath—the other, a day of labour—and he had seen on both, scenes of squalid and hopeless misery—such as he had never witnessed in any part of the globe—neither among the wretched paupers of England, nor the wooden-shod peasantry of France. He had conversed with a very intelligent physician there, who had supplied him with facts, which, if it were proper to detail on the present occasion, would add a deep and mournful colouring to this picture. Experience had there confirmed the deductions of reason, that if we would render freedom, to the slave, a blessing; if we would confer real benefits, on the children of Africa, Colonization must go, hand in hand, with Emancipation. In endeavouring to accomplish this object, the Society would find ample employment. The pernicious influence which had been charged upon its designs, was not only foreign to them, but deprecated, by no part of the American people, more sincerely, than by the friends of the colonization of Africa by her free coloured descendants of the United States. He was happy to believe, said Mr M. that the fears of his Southern friends were, every day, becoming more and more quieted, while a conviction was hourly strengthening at the North, that their Southern countrymen were actuated by the same spirit of benevolence with themselves. All that was needed, for a just estimate of the views of both, was to enable them to understand each other. The result would be to unite their efforts by common council. Could both parts of the Union be represented in one common assembly here, it would soon be found that the dele-

gates from every quarter of America had brought with them the same feelings. Justice would be done, at once, to the policy of the South, and to the humanity of the North.

In conclusion, Mr. M. renewed his congratulations to the President, on the prosperous advances of the African colony, which might be ascribed in part to his early and steady patronage, and the moral influence of a name deservedly dear to both continents. In offering a resolution of thanks to the Board of Managers, which he knew to be merited by their persevering zeal and ability, he desired to be regarded not as an officer of the Parent Institution, from whose councils other duties had withdrawn him, during the past year, but as a delegate of the Colonization Society of his native commonwealth, which he had the honour, on the present occasion, to represent, in common with his much revered friend, on his left, (Chief Justice Marshall,) and an absent friend, recently the Governor of that Commonwealth, (Mr. Tyler of the Senate,) whose attendance was withheld from the present meeting by ill health, and the inclemency of the season.

F. S. KEY, Esq. then rose and said,

That he felt grateful, as a member of the Board of Managers, for the approbation expressed in the resolution just passed.—He begged leave to present to the meeting, by the resolution he was about to offer, a far more worthy subject of thanks than the Board of Managers. It becomes this Society, while it expresses its regret for the loss of one to whom it is more indebted than to all the labours of all its friends, to express also its thankfulness, that he was ever given to us. The lamented Ashmun was a man raised up by Providence, fitted for, and called to the post which he had so honourably filled, and to which he gave himself as a martyr.

He did not fear to be thought an enthusiast, in saying, that clearer indications were never given that the Almighty interposes in the schemes of his creatures, than by the incidents which removed Mr. Ashmun from his humble labours here, to a continent where his name will be remembered forever. It ought to be known, that it was not the wisdom of the Board of Managers that selected for the deliverance and government of their infant Colony in Africa, the man who so faithfully and eminently performed this service. With a meek and quiet spirit he had moved among us, in his sphere of humble duties, as if unconscious himself of the energies he was afterwards to develop.

While fitting out a vessel about to sail from Baltimore, with settlers for the Colony, some apparent accident suggested the necessity of his accompanying them to Liberia, and without any appointment from the Board, or any farther design than that of seeing them restored to the land of their forefathers, and returning in the vessel, he embarked with them. His return, the state of the Colony upon his arrival, rendered impossible. It was on the brink of destruction. The former Agent had been compelled, by ill health, to leave it. The people were cut off from all communication

with the natives, who were then collecting forces to assail them, without a leader, and dispirited at the prospect of the unequal contest approaching them. He resolved to share their fate, and encouraged and prepared them for the defence they so nobly sustained. From that moment till his death, it is well known how he devoted all the powers of his mind and body, till he sacrificed health and life to the people he had saved. It is well known, how, in the varying circumstances of danger and difficulty, in which they were placed, every variety of quality and talent that could be called for, military skill and courage, political sagacity and address, were most conspicuously exhibited in this remarkable man.

Deeply did the Board and all the friends of the Society lament that he was not spared to meet them, and receive the warm tribute of thankfulness and admiration they were prepared to offer him. But his parting moments were cheered and sustained by far higher consolations. He could look back upon a life given to a great cause, to incalculable blessings which he had been made the instrument of conferring upon two Continents of people.

He has left a name to be remembered by generations to come, when those that may be more illustrious now on the pages of history, will be forgotten. To express our gratitude for the gift of such a man, and our reverence for his memory, he would offer a resolution to which all hearts would respond.

*Resolved*, That this Society is penetrated with the deepest regret for the loss of their invaluable Colonial Agent, J. Ashmun, Esq. and that as a tribute of respect for his worth, the Board of Managers be instructed to cause a suitable monument, with an appropriate inscription, to be erected over his grave.

Mr. Mercer proposed an addition to this resolution, which was adopted, viz.

That another monument be erected to his memory in Liberia.

WALTER JONES, Esq. moved the following:

The time having arrived when the diffusive beneficence of the plan, and the great political and moral results from the labours of this Society, are so well and so generally understood, as to dispense its founders and advocates from the necessity of dedicating their principal efforts to explain or to justify its principles or its tendencies to the great body of patriots and philanthropists in the country; it has become the more essential duty of them, who are duly impressed with the important truths unfolded by the doctrines and the experiments of this Society, to press on with untiring activity, and unquenchable ardour, to the practical accomplishment of their own theory, by all the means that sagacity and determined perseverance can render available, and not to disparage the very cause of humanity, of public good, of social and individual improvement, by making all public spirit and active virtue appear but as a dream of speculative benevolence.—

Among the most available and practicable means of establishing an adequate fund, to supply the indispensable wants of the Society, the meritorious plan suggested by Gerrit Smith, Esq. of Petersboro', New York, deserves the highest commendation. Whilst it would ensure a permanent fund for the operations of the Society, it brings the contribution of that fund within the compass of the great mass of men possessing moderate, but independent fortunes, without a sacrifice of any of the comforts or enjoyments that a well-regulated mind ought to wish or expect from the possession of worldly wealth, therefore,

*Resolved*, That the plan proposed by Gerrit Smith, to raise 100,000 dollars, by subscriptions of 1000 dollars, payable by instalments, in ten years, be recommended to all the real well wishers and active supporters of the Society.

In commenting upon the resolution, Mr J. contended that enough had been done to meet and to remove the various objections with which the design of the Society had had to contend. It was now time that its friends rested from their speculative labours, and turned their attention to the practical means of advancing and securing the great interests of the Colony, the happy victory of benevolence over force. By peacefully restoring to Africa that of which we had forcibly robbed her, the Society would accomplish a double benefit. It would not only remove from the trunk of the great national tree, a morbid excrescence, whose growth must only terminate in the ultimate destruction of both, but by separating it and placing it in a kindred soil, would plant a germ whose branches might overspread another continent, and bear abundant fruit in all the blessings of education, morals, freedom, and the arts. He deprecated the idea of remitting exertions which had been so successful, pressed the obligation which rested upon those who had thus given being to an infant State never to abandon its interests, or yield to any difficulties which might present themselves in consummating so noble a design. They were now called to exercise the sagacity and energy which ought to distinguish the founders of Republics.—Mr. J. referred with commendation to a scheme first proposed by Gerrit Smith, Esq. of New York, for the securing of pecuniary aid, and which consists in the pledging of a definite sum ultimately to be paid, but which is to be advanced by easy but certain instalments. This would show the Board on what they might calculate, and enable it to graduate its measures by its means.

A. RANDALL, Esq. presented the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Society be given to the Clergy of all denominations, who have taken up collections for its benefit on the Fourth of July, and that they be earnestly requested to continue their efforts in aid of this Institution.

Mr. R. made a short address on the subject of the resolution,

offering a merited tribute to those who had availed themselves of the enthusiasm produced by the recurrence of our national birth-day, and poured into the treasury of the Society a multitude of "drop-like" contributions, which, though individually of small amount, when united, formed a great and valuable stream.

The Hon. Mr. MARKS offered the following resolution:

*Resolved.* That the thanks of this Institution be presented to the several Auxiliary Societies throughout the Union, for their efficient efforts, and liberal contributions to the Society during the last year.

Mr. CLAY rose to perform a duty which he had hoped would have devolved on some other member of the Institution. But before he presented the resolution, which he held in his hand, he could not deny himself the gratification of offering to the presiding officer, to the Board of Managers and others here assembled, the congratulations which belong to the occasion. How different is the present triumphant position of the Society from what it was a few years ago! He recollected about twelve years ago, when some fifteen or twenty gentlemen assembled in a room, not eighteen feet square, of a tavern in this place, to consult together about this great scheme. They formed a constitution, and organized the Society. We all remember what scoffs and taunts it subsequently experienced, how the timid were alarmed, how the ignorant misconceived or misrepresented its object, and how both extremes—the partizan of perpetual slavery, and the friend of unqualified, immediate and universal emancipation, united against us. We have triumphed over all these obstacles. Prejudice has yielded, the ignorant have acquired information, and converts are daily made. The Report read this evening shows the flourishing condition of the Colony.

Among the circumstances of the past year, which are worthy of particular felicitation, are the formation of State Societies, in two neighbouring Commonwealths. One of these has been organized, in a manner calculated to make a deep impression, in a State which has always exercised, and must ever continue to exert great influence on the affairs of this Confederacy. The other has been formed in a State, her daughter, to which I belong as a citizen. In the constitution of each, some of the most eminent citizens of the respective States concurred. We may anticipate, with much confidence, the best effects from both. The past year had brought forth another most gratifying incident. Our fair countrywomen, always ready to sanction schemes of religion, humanity and benevolence, have manifested a warm approbation of that of the Colonizing Society. They have, in several instances, formed themselves into auxiliary associations, and have otherwise contributed to the promotion of the great object of this Society. Their co-operation was wanted to complete the circle of moral exertion. They are entitled to our grateful thanks. It is to propose the expression of them, in the shape of a resolution, that I have now risen.

Mr. President, said Mr. C. we have a cause inherently good. It is supported by some of the best, the most virtuous, and eminent men of our country. The Clergy, of all denominations, almost unanimously support it, and daily offer up their prayers for its success. Our fair countrywomen give us their cheering countenance and encouragement. The God of Heaven, (he believed from his very soul) is with us. Under such auspices, we cannot fail. With zeal, energy, and perseverance we shall subdue all difficulties and ultimately realize every hope.

He offered the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the cordial thanks of this Society be presented to our fair countrywomen, who contribute by their countenance, association, and their donations, to the success of the Society.

The Secretary of the Society, Mr. GURLEY, rose and said,

All the members of this Society, I doubt not, have heard with peculiar gratification, of the establishment during the year, of State Societies in Virginia and Kentucky. The influence of these states, on the great question presented to this Union, by the Society, cannot fail to be felt to the extremities of our land, and must co-duce most powerfully to the success of the cause which we have assembled to advance. The resolution which I intend to submit, recommends that the system of organization already partially adopted, should be extended throughout the United States, nor can it fail, if thus extended, to affect the State Legislatures and the nation at large; it proposes the formation of a State Society auxiliary to the Parent Institution, with subordinate associations in the counties or towns of the several states, in every state of the Union. Such a system, I can say with confidence, has long been regarded by the whole Board of Managers, as of vast importance, well suited to produce those triumphant results which are cherished, as objects of hope, at least, by all the friends of this Institution. A resolution similar to that which I hold in my hand, was adopted at the last Annual Meeting of the Society, and I trust we shall continue to recommend the plan until it shall be universally adopted. I trust we shall repeat our expressions of opinion on this subject, until a moral and christian influence in favour of this Society, has reached every heart in our country; until we have not one, but many flourishing Colonies on the African coast, from which shall emanate the pure and benign lights of Science and Religion to cheer and to regenerate a land long injured, and long involved in darkness and crime. Providence has favoured us, nor does the history of Colonization furnish a parallel to our success. Our friends are able and numerous, and from the most remote parts of this Union, do they look with interest to our proceedings to-night. But we see only the dawning of the day. Let this animate us: for the light now faint, gives promise of noonday brightness. I hope this resolution will be adopted, and that from the efforts of this Society the present year, we shall witness the happiest and the best results.

Mr. GURLEY then presented the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That this Institution has heard with great gratification, of the establishment of State Colonization Societies in Virginia and Kentucky, and that the experience of another year has confirmed it in the opinion, that the formation of similar Societies, throughout the Union, with subordinate associations in the several counties or towns of each State. is highly important, and deserves the serious attention of all the friends of the Society.

Rev. Mr. HAWLEY moved the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That this Society will cherish a sincere and respectful regard for the memory of Dr. William Thornton, late a valuable member of the Board of Managers.

Rev. Dr. LAURIE offered the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That this Society are deeply sensible of its obligations to Richard Smith, Esq. their Treasurer, for his able and gratuitous services during the year.

It is with great pleasure, said Dr. Laurie, the Rev. mover, that I rise to offer a resolution embracing a vote of thanks to the Treasurer of this Society. The benefits resulting from the judicious and efficient labours of the Treasurer, he remarked, had been peculiarly felt, and were highly prized by the Board of Managers, and by those more immediately connected with him in his official character. Often in cases of depression and perplexity have they been relieved by his counsel, and by his energy. Nor ought it to be unnoticed that his invaluable services have been rendered without fee or reward, other than that which springs from the consciousness of being instrumental in planting on the shores of Africa, a Colony, where the blessings of civil and religious liberty are already enjoyed, and from whence it is confidently hoped light and life and gladness shall be diffused through all the regions of that vast continent.

The Hon. Mr. STORRS then said,

That he was grateful to be able to assure the meeting that the objects of the Society had begun to excite much interest in parts of the Union which were exempt from the evils incident to that personal relation which was yet recognized in many of the States. The Society would find sure evidence of this feeling, in the generous offer made by Mr. Gerrit Smith, alluded to in the Report of the Board of Managers. Mr. S. said that he resided near Mr. Smith, and spoke in high terms of his public spirit, his purity of life, exemplary piety and benevolence.

Mr. S. said that when the Society was first instituted, he was one of those who doubted its success, and believed its objects to be unattainable. So great did the undertaking then appear to be, and so chimerical had it been generally considered, that few thought it worth the trouble of very close



examination. He was one of that great mass who had reflected very little on the subject, and it was perhaps, not too much to say, that the objects of the Society were not, for some time after its formation, fully and fairly understood. He was satisfied from the success which had thus far followed its exertions, that the colonization of the free black population of the Union on the coast of Africa, was practicable. So far as what had been done already, was to be considered in the light of an experiment; it had been eminently successful, and promised to realize all which its sanguine supporters had hoped for. The Report which had been read, showed that the Colony had prospered as highly during the time since it was founded, as the first settlement of New England, so far as any physical obstacles to its progress were to be overcome. It may have, perhaps, superior natural advantages. The state of the world, too, was more favorable now to such an enterprise. It was, he continued, due to candor to say, that he was convinced that it was deserving of more general support than it had received, and hoped that the efforts of its patrons would meet with general encouragement to perseverance.

Mr. S. expressed the belief that there had been some misunderstanding between different parts of the Union, in respect to the views of each other on the subject of the condition and emancipation of the coloured population in the States. He was quite sure that in the Northern States, there was no opinion generally prevailing, that immediate, absolute, and universal emancipation was desirable. There might be, said Mr. S. some who are actuated by pure motives and benevolent views, who considered it practicable; but he might say with confidence, that very few, if any, believed that it would be truly humane or expedient to turn loose upon the community more than a million of persons, totally destitute of the means of subsistence, and altogether unprepared in every moral point of view, to enjoy or estimate their new privileges. Such a coterminous emancipation of the coloured population of the Southern States could only bring a common calamity on all the states, and the most severe misery on those who were to be thus thrown upon society, under the most abject, helpless and deplorable circumstances. He might say, however, and he trusted that there was no part of the Union where such a sentiment was not favorably entertained, that every truly philanthropic man and every friend of our common country looked forward in the confident hope that the period would arrive, when, at some future day, that great work should be ultimately accomplished. It was to be treated, however, by all, as a work of time and prudence, and not of mere feeling. He believed that causes were in operation, and daily developing their influence, that were calculated to convince those most directly and most deeply concerned in that subject, that it was a question which invited their careful and early examination. Desirable as such an event might be to any, it was false humanity to disperse such a number of our fellow beings, of all ages and both sexes, through the coun-

try, to perish for want, to fill up the jails and penitentiaries, or to sink to the lowest and basest degrees of vice and crime. The success of such a policy could only end in their final extirpation. Still the question of emancipation could not in the nature of things be long avoided, and must be met at last. He thought that two points might be affirmed in reference to it, which none could deny—that it was impracticable to collect this people together at any future time, on this continent, at any place or under circumstances that would ensure their happiness, and that even under any plan, which had in view the only practicable result—gradual emancipation—the first steps to be taken were those preparative measures which only could render their emancipation a blessing at all. No stronger motive could be addressed to the human heart, than that which the measures of the Society held out, to enable them to estimate the value of freedom. Instead of being turned out upon the world, without the means of support, and without hope, the emancipated are offered an asylum, where with the first enjoyment of liberty, they may rationally know its value and realize its blessings. Under the patronage and protection afforded to them in the Colony, every inducement is presented to persuade them to feel that their happiness is in their own power. They cannot fail to find in the equality of their condition, and the sure rewards of industry, the greatest encouragements to perseverance in their exertions. The acquisition and enjoyment of separate property for themselves and their families, and the rules of descent must there set in motion those principles of action in the human heart, which lay at the foundations of social happiness, and all well-regulated human government. To this are added the blessings of education and religious instruction. Why, Mr. President, said Mr. S. should we doubt that the African is susceptible of the highest degrees of moral and social improvement? We do wrong to human nature in every situation of life, to judge of its capacity unfavorably, merely because we find that despotism and paganism degrade and debase the human character. This Colony, too, planted by you on the shores of Africa, is a Christian Colony, and its growth is strengthened under the moral influences of our religion. If liberty is power in the social state—and if knowledge is power—so too, above both, is Christianity power. Mr. S. then referred to facts stated in the Annual Report, from which he drew the conclusion that the state of the Colony was prosperous beyond what could have been expected at so early a period, and that the operation of its moral as well as political institutions promised to realize the hopes of its founders and patrons. He thought that the benevolent and patriotic would find in the actual experience of its success hitherto, a pledge on which they could rely, that their final hopes should be realized, in respect to our own country. The plan of the Board of Managers had thus far proceeded under most discouraging circumstances from its commencement. In spite of public opinion, and with extremely limited and precarious resources, it seemed to have been sustained

by the influence of super-human power. It has certainly, said Mr. S. attained a point of success, which it was not expected to have reached so soon, and there was no reason to think that its prosperity was to be checked. Its final success must depend on the perseverance of its patrons, and surely all will admit that to abandon the experiment at the present favorable point of its progress, would be to trifle with the demonstrations of the safest and most instructive of all teachers—experience.

If, said Mr. S its prosperity shall be continued, the debt which, not only our own country, but the civilized world owes to Africa, may be paid. Who can foresee in what results your efforts may end? They are not for us to know, and it is not for man to set the limits of those blessings which may flow in upon that benighted and afflicted country, from the establishment there of an educated and Christian State. We may hope, however, without presumption, that these blessings may not only be perpetuated to those whom we may colonize there, but shall extend and expand their beneficent and resistless influence, till whole nations of the human family shall be gathered within the pale of civilization and christianity.

All the preceding resolutions were adopted with great unanimity.

It was then

*Resolved*, That the fourth article of the Constitution of the Society, be so altered, that the time fixed for the annual meeting of the Society, shall be the third Monday of January.

After the President had retired, on motion by Gen. C. F. MERCER, it was

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Society be presented to the Hon. Bushrod Washington, the President of the Society, for the dignified and able manner in which he has presided over the proceedings of this meeting.

The Rev. Mr. RYLAND, of this city, was elected a member of the Board of Managers, in the place of Dr. RANDALL. The other officers remain the same as in the last year.



We have long desired to see State Colonization Societies, auxiliary to the Parent Institution, established throughout the Union, and organized on such a plan, as to secure the greatest possible results. We have regarded the object of our Society as truly NATIONAL, and demanding for its full accomplishment, the energies and resources of the nation. Eleven State Societies have been already established. The following plan for a GENERAL ORGANIZED SYSTEM, was recently submitted to the Board of Mana-

gers, by the Rev. Isaac Orr, General Agent of the Society, and after due consideration, was unanimously adopted; and is now earnestly recommended to the attention of all the friends of our cause. Why may not this system be put into actual and vigorous operation in the course of the present year? Is there any thing which more imperiously claims the thoughts and efforts of every humane, patriotic, or religious mind?

*Plan for the establishment of State Colonization Societies, with Subordinate Associations throughout the Union.*

1. That the State Societies be direct Auxiliaries to the General Society, and that it be recommended that each State Society should, by its constitution, determine to see that a Society, auxiliary to itself shall be formed, and kept in efficient activity, in each county in the state, from each of which a delegate shall be a manager of the State Society. The reasons for this latter provision, are, that the members of the State Society, being on the ground, and coming indeed from all parts of the State, can best discern, and seize upon the various facilities, which will enable them to form County Societies most readily; that they can, on the same account, do much without incurring the expense of employing an agent; and that if an agent must be employed, they have the best means of selecting one that is suitable, who being on the ground can perform the duties of his office without incurring the travelling expenses necessary to be incurred by an agent of the General Society.

2. That it be recommended to each County Society, to see that Societies auxiliary to itself be formed and kept active in every town or district in the County, from each of which a delegate shall be a manager of the County Society. The reasons for this are the same as in the preceding article.

3. That the annual meetings of the Town and District Societies, be in regular order, with regard to places, and in immediate succession; that as far as practicable, the same order and succession be observed with regard to the meetings of the various State Societies, to the end, that an agent of the General Society may attend them all in succession, as far as practicable; and that the meetings of the State Societies immediately precede the annual meeting of the General Society.

4. That the monies of the Town and District Societies, be

generally collected directly before their annual meetings; that they be transferred to the County Societies, by their Delegates to the meeting of that Society; that the monies of the County Societies, be collected and transferred in the same manner, to the State Society; and that the monies of the various State Societies, be collected and transferred in the same manner, as far as practicable, to the General Society.

The object of this article, is to save expense and embarrassment, in the collection of monies for the General Society.

5. That the various Societies make it the object of their most strenuous efforts, to collect funds sufficient to convey immediately to the Colony of Liberia, every coloured person of suitable age, and suitable qualifications, that is willing to go; that, with the attainment of this object, they will be satisfied; and that they combine and increase their efforts, until this object is fully accomplished.

6. That inasmuch as it must be deemed a leading object of this Society, to diffuse information, and exert an influence, by means of the press, it be earnestly recommended to the various Societies, to circulate as much as possible, the different publications of the Society, to obtain subscriptions for the Repository; to collect and transmit the payments for that work, with the contributions to the funds of the Society; and for compensation and encouragement in this undertaking, which may be performed almost without trouble by the collectors of the Town and District Societies, they are authorized by the Agent and Publisher (Mr. James C. Dunn, Georgetown, D. C.) of the Repository, to retain twelve and a half per cent. on all payments for that work collected.

The reasons, in brief, in favour of the whole system now recommended, are, that it contains in itself, the principles of its own life, and its own activity; that on this account, it avoids the expense and trouble of an extraneous influence; that it will be relieved of the various irregularities and embarrassments unavoidable by any other system less general in its character; and that as a ground of safe dependence for the Society, it will procure an income of much greater amount, and greater uniformity.

**African Mission School.**

[FOR THE AFRICAN REPOSITORY ]

On the establishment of an African Mission School in the city of Hartford, it was hoped that a lively interest would be taken in it, by the patrons and friends of the American Colonization Society, in the more Southern States; where we were led to believe, there were many young men of colour, who would gladly avail themselves of the opportunity, to become qualified for usefulness in the Colony. It was hoped, that pains would be taken, to look out suitable pupils for the school, and put them in the way of joining it. The Executive Committee confess, that they have hitherto been disappointed in their expectations from that quarter; and notwithstanding their exertions to spread intelligence, it is feared that very few of the children of Africa, are yet acquainted with the existence of a free school for their benefit. You will do the Institution a favour, by inserting in the Repository, the following notice of the African Mission School, established in this place.

Its object is, to prepare young men of religious character and habits, to serve in the Colony in Africa, in the capacity of Missionaries, Catechists or Schoolmasters. On leaving the school, they are to be placed under the direction of the Executive Committee of the Domestic and Foreign Church Missionary Society, to be employed by them in the sphere, in which they may be judged best fitted to labour.—They must be at least 18 years of age—be able to read and write; and have acquired some knowledge of the rules of common arithmetic. They must also produce to the Executive Committee, satisfactory testimonials of their exemplary moral and religious character, and of their possessing such intellectual endowments, as will, in all probability, render them useful in some one of the above-mentioned capacities.—Such pupils will be received into the School, and be supported and educated, *free of expense*, until they are judged qualified to proceed to their destination in the Colony. A competent instructor has been appointed, and the school is in actual operation with a few pupils.

The clergy, and others interested in the welfare of our infant

colony, are earnestly desired, to give all possible publicity to the intelligence relative to the school, among the people of colour. It is particularly requested, that they will see and converse with promising young men of African descent, and induce them to apply for admission, if they appear to be qualified for the situation; and especially, if they sustain a character for devoted piety, missionary zeal, and competent talents.—Letters of application, testimonials, &c. may be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, the Rev. N. S. Wheaton, Hartford, Conn.—Donations to the Society, may be remitted to the Treasurer, Cyprian Nichols, Esq. of the same place.

*Hartford, Feb. 25th, 1829.*



## **Candid Acknowledgment of Error.**

The Editor of Freedom's Journal, Mr. Ruswurm, (a very respectable, and well educated coloured man in New York,) who has for several years, been decidedly and actively opposed to the Colonization Society, in his paper of the 14th February, candidly and honourably confesses that his opinions in regard to our Institution, have become entirely changed. The following is his statement.

“As our former sentiments have always been in direct opposition to the plan of colonizing us on the coast of Africa, perhaps so favourable an opportunity may not occur, for us to inform our readers, in an open and candid manner, that our views are materially altered. We have always said, that when convinced of our error, we should hasten to acknowledge it. *That period has now arrived.* The change which has taken place, has not been the hasty conclusion of a moment: we have pondered much on this interesting subject, and read every article within our reach, both for and against the Society, and we come on, from the examination, a decided supporter of the American Colonization Society.

We know, that in making this avowal, we advance doctrines in opposition to the majority of our readers, to many of whom we are personally known, and for whose opinions we still entertain great respect; but how unpopular soever they may be, *we*

*know* they are conscientious ones—formed from no sordid motives; but having for their basis, the good of our brethren.

We have carefully examined the different plans now in operation for our benefit, and none, we believe, can reach half so efficiently, the mass, as the plan of colonization on the coast of Africa; for, if we take a second look into any or all of them, we find them limited to a single city or state. We consider it mere waste of words to talk of ever enjoying citizenship in this country; it is utterly impossible in the nature of things; all, therefore, who pant for this, must cast their eyes elsewhere.

The interesting query now arises, where shall we find this desirable spot? If we look to Europe, we find that quarter already overburdened with a starving population; if to Asia, its distance is an insuperable barrier, were all other circumstances favourable. Where, then, shall we look so naturally, as to Africa? In preferring Liberia, we wish not to deprive any of the right of choice between it and Hayti; as it is not our design to say ought against Hayti or the able ruler at its head; but it is a fact well known to all, that our people have strong objections against emigrating to that country, arising, in many cases, from the unfavourable reports of those who have returned. Sensible of the fact, then, of the unwillingness of our people to emigrate to Hayti, we feel it our duty, to offer to their consideration, our present sentiments concerning African Colonization, and perhaps, what we may be able to offer hereafter, may be the means of enlightening some, whom it was our misfortune to have misled by our former opinions."



## **Plan to raise Funds for purchasing a Ship for the Society.**

The Board of Managers have received a communication from a very active and judicious friend, to which they earnestly invite public attention. This friend writes, "a few days ago, when in Cincinnati, Ohio, I left a subscription paper, of which the following is a copy."

"Proposals to raise the sum of twenty thousand dollars within 12 months, from Jan. 1st, 1829, to be given to the American Colonization Society, for the purchase of a vessel to belong to the Society.



"Whereas the benevolent designs of the American Colonization Society, have required appropriations of their funds to a large amount, for the charter of vessels to transport emigrants to Liberia, and whereas their limited resources have not enabled the Society to afford the means of transportation to numbers, who are anxious to settle in Liberia; we, the undersigned, do agree to pay to the Society, or assume the responsibility of collecting, for the purpose of enabling the Society to procure a vessel, worth \$20,000, the amount of \$50 each, upon condition that 400 subscribers shall pledge themselves to raise each, the like sum; the money to be paid to the Treasurer of the nearest auxiliary, or to the Parent Society, upon their annunciation that the subscription of \$20,000 has been completed."

The following gentlemen have given in their names as subscribers on this scheme.

HERBERT C. THOMSON, *New York.*

JOHN M. NELSON, *New York.*

ANDREW BARRY, *Hillsborough, Highland Co. Ohio.*

Dr. ISAAC TELFAIR, *do. do. do.*

BENJAMIN HARRIS, *do. do. do.*

Col. EDWARD COLSTON, *Berkely Co. Virginia.*

HENRY MILLER, *Cincinnati, Ohio.*

The Managers have heretofore expressed their opinion, that the possession of a ship, by the Society, would greatly facilitate its operations, and increase their beneficial results. They earnestly invited the attention of their friends to this subject, in their Eleventh Report, and the experience of another year, has still more deeply impressed their minds with the importance of the object. They solicit the aid of all who wish success to their enterprise, to the plan which is now submitted. They feel under special obligations to the gentleman who has suggested it, and who has placed his own name at the head of the subscription. Shall not this plan as well as that of Mr. Smith, be carried into complete effect during the present year?

## Good Devised.

The Rev. G. W. Campbell, an Agent of the Society, in the State of New York, has submitted the following plan to the consideration of the Board of Managers, and expressed the opinion, that it may be attended with great advantages. The Managers approve it, and wish it success. Every plan, indeed, which may serve to augment the resources of the Society, should in

their view, be immediately adopted. The annual income of our Institution, must be increased tenfold, if we would realise the benefits which have been cherished as objects of hope at least, by its earliest and most constant advocates. The plan now offered to public attention, is the following:

“1st. A transportation shall be \$30, payable down, at the end of 5 or 10 years; the time to be designated on subscribing.

2nd. One engaging a transportation, may, when the sum is paid, designate the beneficiary of his charity, or name a friend who shall designate for him.

3rd. An individual engaging a transportation, as soon as he has paid a tenth of his subscription, shall receive gratuitously, the African Repository for one year, and when the whole sum is paid, shall be a life member of the Society.

4th. The payments on the transportation, shall be a sum not less than three dollars.”

About twenty subscriptions have, we are informed, been obtained on the plan here proposed.

### **The great Object advanced.**

We have the pleasure to announce *six* subscriptions on the plan of Gerrit Smith, Esq. since the publication of our last number.

Mrs. M. H. CARRINGTON,	} \$100 annually by equal contributions.
Mrs. ANN FONTAINE,	
P. S. CARRINGTON,	
WM. A. CARRINGTON,	
Gen. EDWARD CARRINGTON,	
A few Gentlemen near Oak Hill, Fauquier County, Va.	
Rev. EBENEZER BURGESS, Dedham, Mass.	
A friend in Virginia.	
ARTHUR TAPPAN, New York.	

### **Error Corrected.**

We learn that a statement is circulating through the papers, that the whole amount of funds required for the ransom of the Family of Abduhl Rahhahman, the Moorish Prince, has been obtained. This is a mistake; somewhat less than half the sum only has been raised. The whole amount demanded, is little if any, short of \$10,000, for the entire Family; whereas, only about \$4,000 have been contributed for their redemption. We have seen other evidences than this, that many persons, in regard to our Society at least, have been indebted to their “imagination for their facts!”

## Serious Considerations.

We would offer to Heaven our most devout thanksgivings, that we are permitted to bring to a close, the fourth volume of our Journal. Though in a review of the year which has just elapsed, we find occasion for sad and mournful thoughts, we also discern much to encourage and urge us onward with increased industry and effort, towards the completion of the arduous work so auspiciously commenced, and which so well merits, not only the richest contributions of individual enterprise, but of state and national means. On this occasion, we beg leave, earnestly to invite the attention of all our friends to some subjects which appear to us to claim their immediate and most serious reflections.

It is unquestionable, that the great experiment of founding a Colony on the African Coast has been fairly tried, and found successful. The entire practicableness of the scheme of the Society being then ascertained, the object now is, to *reduce to a reality*, the immense benefits which are promised by this scheme, both to this country and Africa. The earliest friends of our Institution have indulged the expectation, that nothing more was requisite to secure general and liberal patronage to their plan, than a demonstration of its feasibility; and the question is, shall this expectation be disappointed? Will those who constantly professed themselves ready to lend their aid to this plan, the moment they might be convinced that it could be effected, prove their professions to have been insincere, when they can no longer plead incredulity as an excuse for inaction? Or will those who have evinced zeal and energy during the progress of this experiment, at first doubtful, prove cold and heartless, when it is no longer possible to deny that the work can be done, and that its utility would be great beyond conception? Shall efforts to secure our object become less, because we perceive that this object may certainly be obtained, and that it will amply reward exertion?

But the results at which we aim, can only be realized, by far more liberal contributions to the Society than have ever yet been received, and its consequent, more vigorous and extensive operations. And for these enlarged exertions, the African Colony

is now prepared. Every successive year hereafter, will it be ready for the reception of a larger number of emigrants than in the preceding one, and of course, the Society should advance with accumulating resources and energy. Let it never be forgotten, however, that the work in which we are engaged, demands the powers of the nation, and that without them, its completion is not to be expected. Our endeavour, then, should be to send abroad an influence in its favour throughout the Union, and secure to it the approbation and support of the whole country.

For this end, no plan suggests itself as likely to be more effective than that (submitted in the present number) for the organization of a State Colonization Society, with subordinate associations, in each of the United States. We hope that it will be adopted, and that our friends in those States where such Societies do not exist, will without delay, combine their efforts to establish them. Such a system as we have ventured to recommend, cannot fail to bring the great objects of the Society, constantly and universally before the American people, and render them generally, matters of conversation and reflection. A disposition to promote these objects, will be thus produced, and the streams of public charity will, through the several county societies as their appropriate channels, flow into the State Societies, and thence to the Parent Institution.

May we not confidently rely upon collections in the numerous churches in our land, on the 4th of July, for more liberal aid than has yet been granted? For such aid we must look principally to the influence of the clergy; and surely this influence cannot on such an occasion, be better exerted, than in turning the gratitude and joy, which warm all hearts, to the account of charity—charity towards those, who on the chosen soil of freedom, are, and must be, strangers to its blessings.

All, we hope, will feel, that without vastly increased funds, the cause of the American Colonization Society, if it can advance at all, cannot prosper. To give it the triumph which it merits, this NATION must be aroused to exertions, compared to which, what has yet been done, is not worthy to be mentioned. And these exertions must soon be made, or they will be forever *lost*. Solemnly and urgently, as by a voice from Heaven, are

all the people of this Union called upon, to come forward instantly, and with their might to the great but glorious work, in which the Colonization Society, with entire devotion, but inadequate resources, has been permitted to engage.

## Contributions

*To the Am. Col. Society, from the 21st Jan. to the 5th March,  
1829—inclusive.*

A Lady in Exeter Parish, Lebanon, Con. ....	\$ 5	
The Associate Presbyterian Congregation of Cambridge, N. Y. ....	5	
The Wells' Valley (Cherokee Nation,) African Benevolent Society, by Rev. William Chamberlain, .....	10	
Collections by Obed Waite, Esq. of Winchester, Va. as follows:		
James Little, on his subscription, ....	\$10	
Coll'n. in Pres. Ch. Winchester, 6th July last, ....	5	
Obed Waite, himself, .....	10	25
Collections by Grove Wright, Esq. of New York, as follows:		
From the Rev. Mr. Bradford's Church, at Sheffield, Massachusetts, .....	\$ 7	81
From the Ladies' Freewill Society, at Pittsfield, Massachusetts, .....	6	
From the Reformed Association in Orange County, New York, .....	3	75
From the Presbyterian Church at Catskill, N. York, .....	14	
From the Church at Meredith, Delaware Co., N. Y. ....	3	50
From the Rev. Mr. Shaw, South Hartford, Conn. .	3	20
From a Lady in this city, .....	20	
From the Church at Malborough, Ulster Co. N. Y. ....	6	
From the Rev. Doctor Lewis, Greenwich, Conn. by the hand of Zach. Lewis, Esq. ....	20	
From Mr. Griffith Hogan of Kingsport, Tenn. ....	2	50
From Mr. W. C. Redfield, .....	10	96 76
Collection by the Congregation at the Chapel, Frederick County, Va. per Rev. William Meade, .....	10	
Collections in Granville, New York, per Rev. J. Whiton, ....	30	
Collections by A. R. Plumley, Esq. ....	112	12
Collection by Governor Coles, of Illinois:		
Edward Coles and J. M. Robinson, each \$20 ....	\$40	
N. Edwards, J. Tillson, and W. Kitchell, each \$10 .	30	
J. Conway, W. B. Archer, T. Mather, J. Black, J. Reynolds, T. Guard, W. L. D. Ewing, J. Harlin, S. Wiggins, and J. Douglass, each \$5 ...	50	
H. M. Gilham, S. H. Kimmel, J. Turney and A. W. Cavarley, each \$3 .....	12	
C. Ives, S. B. Shelledy, P. Cartwright, E. C. Berry, J. B. Campbell, T. Ford, J. T. Lusk, J. Atwater, W. P. McKee, J. Mason & B. F. Edwards, each \$2	22	
J. Allen, M. Lemen, C. Munly, R. J. Hamilton, A. Miller, G. Flagg, R. Matheny, J. Adams, R. Tillson, E. Baker, R. H. Peebles, J. T. B. Stapp, C. B. Berry, J. D. Gorin, each \$1 .....	14	168
Collections by Rev. J. Rea, at Cadiz, Ohio, per Hon. J. C. Wright, .....	14	

<i>Amount brought forward,</i>		\$476 88
<b>Joint Contribution of a few Gentlemen, living near Oak Hill,</b>		
Fauquier County, Va. (a subscription on the plan of Gerrit Smith, Esq.)		100
A Friend to the cause in Amherst, Mass.		3
Rev. S. M. Worcester, of do.		5
<b>Collections by Rev. J. J. Roberts:</b>		
Rev. Mr. Daniel Baker, Savannah, Ga.	\$5	
Mr. R. Campbell	20	
Mr. Joseph Cunningham	8	
Mr. S. H. Fay	3	
Mr. Geo. W. Coe	5	
Mr. Moses Church	5	
Mr. G. B. Cunningham	10	
Mr. Homes Tupper	5	
Rev. Mr. W. D. Watt	2	
Mr. C. McIntire, Charleston, S. C.	20	
Mr. Thomas Flemming	10	
A Friend	5	
Two Friends	2	
Mr. W. Riley	1	
For the Repository	34	133 76
<b>Auxiliary Society at Zanesville and Putnam, Ohio, per Hon. Mr. Beecher</b>		
		35
<b>Auxiliary Society of Georgetown, D. C. per F. T. Sewall, Esq.</b>		
		52
<b>Auxiliary Society of Green Castle, Pa. per M. L. Fullerton, Esq.</b>		
		30
<b>Auxiliary Society of Wheeling, Va. per Isaac Leffler, Esq.</b>		
		84
<b>Auxiliary Society of Lewisburg, Greenbrier County, Va. from John Spotts, Esq. Treasurer, per Hon. S. Maxwell</b>		
		5
<b>Auxiliary Society of Chester County, Pa. per David Townsend, Esq. Treasurer</b>		
		202 25
<b>Auxiliary Society of Amherst Court House, per Samuel R. Davis, Esq. Treasurer</b>		
		10
<b>Auxiliary Society of Lexington and Fayette, Ky. per J. Harper, Esq. Treasurer</b>		
		100
<b>Auxiliary Society of Versailles, Kentucky</b>		
		61
<b>Auxiliary Society of the Ladies in Georgetown, per Mrs. Southern, Treasurer</b>		
		29 17
<b>Repository from sundries</b>		
		14
<b>From Auxiliary Society of Petersburg, Va.</b>		
		443 38
<b>Rev. Howard Malcom, of Boston</b>		
		5
<b>Peter Force, refunded by him, for overpayment for printing</b>		
		100
<b>A Friend in Fredericksburg: (a Lady and a distinguished patroness of the Society, who declines, from motives of delicacy, from having her name made known to the public)</b>		
		200
<b>Dr. T. B. Anderson, per Mrs. L. L. Minor, of Fredericksburg</b>		
		5
<b>Rev. W. Hooper, Chapel Hill, North Carolina</b>		
		3
<b>Francis Durlavy, Esq. Warren Co. Ohio, per Hon. John Woods</b>		
		5
<b>Hon. John Locke, of Mass. his annual subscription</b>		
		1
<b>Rev. N. Patterson</b>		
		30
		<hr/>
		\$2,133 43

### Erratum.

The first page of this No. should have been dated *February* 1829, instead of "March 1829."

JAN 29 1914







